THE PROVIDENCES OF GOD,

OBSERVED THROUGH

Several Ages,

TOWARDS THIS

NATION,

In Introducing the

True Religion:

AND THEN,

In the Defence of that, preſerving the PEOPLE in their RIGHTS and LIBERTIES, whilſt other KINGDOMS are raviſhed of theirs, as our COUNSELLORS deſigned for US.

LONDON,
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TO THE

READER.

THERE *being found amongſt us a certain ſottiſh Generation, who out of Love to Slavery, and Hatred to our Legal and Natural Rights, do diſown any Miſcarriage or Error in the Miniſters and Inſtruments of the Two laſt Reigns; I thought it neceſſary to make ſome Obſervations upon the Tranſactions of thoſe Times, to the end to raiſe our Hearts to a thankful Admiration of God's Grace and Goodneſs in preſerving us in our Priviledges by his over-ruling Hand of Providence, through many Ages, whilſt other Kingdoms have been raviſhed of theirs; and to diſcourage the like Attempts againſt us for the future, by Men of ambitious, ſelfiſh and depraved Principles. And becauſe I know this will meet with many Enemies, who, as concerned will be ready to cavil at it, I have for the farther Proof of the Subject Matter relating to the Two laſt Reigns and the Iniquity of them, annexed hereunto two* Affidavits, *which together with the uncontradicted Information of that eminently honeſt Captain* Henry Wilkinſon, *a*

true

true Son (tho' no Bigot) of the Church of England, *will, I ſuppoſe, be ſufficient to make good the Truth of what is here ſuggeſted. And if any deſire farther ſatisfaction concerning the Four laſt Kings, I referr them for* James *the Firſt to that Book called,* The Court of King *James, writ by Sir* Anthony Welden, *who being a Courtier, writ his Knowledg and Experience. For* Charles *the Firſt, to* Ruſhworth's *Authentick Collections. For* Charles *the Second, and* James *the Second, to that Book called,* The Diſplay of Tyranny, *where you will find named the Judges, Juries, Witneſſes and Council, made uſe of in ſeveral Trials upon Life and Death, as well as for pretended Miſdemeaners; ſome of which Verdicts have been ſince reverſed by Act of Parliament declaring ſeveral Men murthered; and ſome of the Verdicts for Miſdemanors, reverſed by Judgment in the Houſe of Lords, to the Credit of the Sufferers, but little to the Credit of thoſe Juries, who found them guilty, &c.*

THE

THE PROVIDENCES OF GOD OBSERVED THROUGH Several Ages TOWARDS THIS NATION.

AS it is the duty of Man to contemplate the various Diſpenſations and Workings of God in the World; ſo no Country under Heaven affords more Matter than *England*, for raiſing our Souls to the higheſt admiration of his Greatneſs and Goodneſs, and that as well in reference to Civils as Spirituals.

To look no further back than *William the Firſt*, who ſome call *Conquerer*, the Mercy of the Lord towards this Nation hath ever ſince been to a Miracle in preſerving their Rights and Privileges through ſo many Ages and Reigns of covetous and ambitious Princes, who never wanted evil Counſellors to joyn with them for Arbitrary Power and Government, they knowing that he that makes no Conſcience of couſening the Community for whoſe good he is ordeined, muſt ſuffer them in their degree to couſen him, as he doth the other; and tho' we find, they have for the moſt part firſt or laſt, failed in their At-

tempts, it hath not frightened others from the like Deſigns; the Examples of *Gaveſtone*, Lord *Spencers*, *&c.* in former times; nor of *Strafford* and *Laude* ſince, being any caution to thoſe whoſe Pride and Covetouſneſs overballanceth ſuch Preſidents; and it's no wonder, that all times ſhould furniſh bad Kings with evil Counſellors, there being more Men in the World of Parts without Honeſty than there are of both Parts and Honeſty, and more of Honeſty without Parts than of th' other two; whoſe weakneſs the firſt makes uſe of to ſupport themſelves in their tyrannical practices; and tho' through Mercy we do at preſent injoy our Liberties, the preſervation of them, from the Firſt *William* down to this time, hath been almoſt by perpetual Conteſts with our Kings and their pernicious Inſtruments.

In times of Popery, the Clergy (who are always governed by their ſeparate Intereſt) owning the Pope for their Head, were tenacious of their Engliſh Priviledges, equal to any, and from thence were the greateſt ſupporters of them, and the greateſt Checks to our aſpiring Princes, for which reaſon they were then ſo much honoured and adored; but ſince the Reformation in Religion hath changed their Intereſt, in making them dependent upon the Crown, from whence iſſues all their Preferments, they have been the greateſt Flatterers of our Princes, and Enemies to our Engliſh Liberties; it being hard for a Flatterer to be an honeſt Man: And this may be made an additional Reaſon to Dr. *Itchards* ſeveral Cauſes of the preſent Contempt of the Clergy; for as it's natural to Mankind to reverence thoſe from whom they receive good, ſo on the contrary, to have an averſion for thoſe from whom they derive their miſeries; and tho Statiſts would monopolize beyond contradiction, all knowledge in Government to themſelves as a defence for their evil practices. The wiſer ſort of Men, of both Parts and Honeſty, ſee eaſily thorough their tricks, and the reſt feel where the Shooe pincheth; and in truth, Politicians without Honeſty are but like Mountebanks on a Stage, to cheat the Ignorant: For as King *James the Firſt* uſed to ſay, *Honeſty is the beſt Policy*; and whether he had the Vertue to follow his own Maxim, he was able to judge of what was good and vertuous; and ſurely all Governments thrive beſt, that make Honeſty the rule; not only as a bleſſing of God may be expected from ſuch proceedings, but alſo from Natural and Human Reaſon, the worſt of Men liking Honeſty beſt in others,

others, tho' they do not practiſe it themſelves: And therefore all Vertuous Princes will be careful to make choice of Counſellors of upright and juſt Principles, as ſuch may be well known by their Creatures; for if their Favorites are Men of Immoral, depraved and debauched Lives, as to Tyranny and Oppreſſion, they muſt be the ſame in their own Nature; and who they are that are ſuch, the late Times have ſo ſufficiently diſcovered as is beyond concealing.

And now, as this may ſerve to raiſe our hearts in a thankful remembrance to Almighty God for Temporal Mercies, ſo I ſhall obſerve that which is of greater concern, our Eternal Being, which requires our moſt ſerious Meditation, as, That the Lord by his over-ruling Hand of Providence ſhould make a profeſſed Enemy to the Truth, *Henry the 8th*, his firſt Inſtrument of bringing us out of Darkneſs into Light, cannot be ſufficiently admired; who being followed by that Miracle of Piety, eſpecially for his Age, *Edward the 6th*, he made ſo grounded a Reformation in his ſhort time, that his mercileſs and perſecuting Succeſſor of the Popiſh Communion could not get totally over in her Reign, but was forced to leave in a great meaſure his Pattern of Church Government for Queen *Elizabeth* to proceed upon; which had he lived, would in all probability have been more perfect, he ſeeming to have been inſpired with an Holy Spirit for Reformation, in purging the Church from all the fulſom Dregs and Rubbiſh of Popiſh Superſtition and Idolatry; and the cutting ſo early the Thread of his Life, before he had accompliſhed his Deſign, gives us great cauſe to reckon it a Judgment of God upon this Nation for their Sins; and we have the more reaſon to believe his pious Intentions, becauſe Dr. *Heilin* (a late Champion for the Church of *England* eſtabliſhed by Law, and Biſhop *Laud*'s great Creature) tells us in his Preface to his Church-Hiſtory, (at leaſt to this Effect) *That it was a great Mercy to the Church that he was taken away, otherwiſe he had ſurely reduced Epiſcopacy to Primitive Inſtitution*, &c. and ſince the Doctor could not be ignorant that the Papiſts were violently ſuſpected to be the Authors of his Death, we may by this, obſerve the Doctor and his Patrons Inclinations.

Queen *Elizabeth*'s Preſervation in the Tower, in the time of her Impriſonment, is a remarkable Providence not to be forgot, that when her bloody Siſter had deſigned her Death, ſhe ſhould

be preſerved by King *Philip* (Queen *Maries* Husband) who had not at that time (beſides his Queen) his Fellow in *Chriſtendom* for Cruelty and Perſecution of the Reformed, and was moved to the ſame, not by Bowels of Compaſſion, but upon a Politick account, That ſhould Queen *Mary* dye Childleſs, as it ſeems he feared, Queen *Elizabeth* being out of the way, the Queen of *Scots*, a Papiſt, would come to the Crown, who being inſeparably joyned in League with *France*, they both might be too hard for *Spain*; and that his Lenity towards Queen *Elizabeth* could be upon no other ſcore, appears by putting his Eldeſt Son to death for no other cauſe, than being too mercifully inclined towards the Proteſtants in the *Netherlands*. And thus the Lord wrought for us when we could not help our ſelves, in bringing her to the Crown, and preſerving her thorough her whole Reign againſt the perpetual Plots and Endeavours of the Papiſts for deſtroying her.

Queen *Elizabeth* having in her Fathers and Siſters Times (tho averſe to the groſs Idolatry of *Rome*) imbibed too great a liking of the gaudy Splendor of the Church, inſomuch that the pious Reformers of that Age could not bring her to that height of Reformation they deſired, as appears by Dr. *Burnet*'s (now Biſhop of *Salisbury*'s) Letter from *Zurick* in *Switzerland*, had it not pleaſed God in his Providence to furniſh her with wiſe and moderate Counſellors, as Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord *Burley*, Sir *Francis Walſingham*, Earl of *Eſſex* and Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, &c. ſhe might have proved more ſevere againſt the then Diſſenters than ſhe was; but having had a true Love to the People of *England*, and particularly to the City of *London*, which ſcarce any of her four Succeſſors have ſince had, ſhe reigned moderately, ſome of thoſe Acts of Parliament made in her time, and ſince wreſted againſt Diſſenters, being intended only againſt Papiſts. Piety was by her and her Counſellors encouraged; all Debauchery, Blaſphemy, Atheiſm and Profaneſs diſcountenanced; Honours, places of Profit or Penſions never beſtowed otherwiſe than for Merit, by which all ſorts being provoked to the ſtudy of Vertue and generous Actions, Gentlemen were in that time in higher eſteem and of greater Intereſt than many Noblemen at this day; the benefit of which we found in a Bleſſing upon all our Undertakings, the Nation not ſuffering the leaſt diſhonour in any of their Actions during her

Reign

Reign, tho ingaged in war upon the account of Religion with all her Neighbours; with *Spain* in defence of the Proteſtants in the *Netherlands*, with *Scotland* in the behalf of the Reformation there, and with *France* in the aſſiſtance of the Reformed in that Kingdom; in *Ireland* againſt the Rebels there, and at home in ſuppreſſing the perpetual Plots of the Papiſts. And having prevailed in all places with a ſmall but well managed Revenue; extravagant Sallaries, Fraud and Couſenage, unneceſſary Penſions, multiplying Offices and Officers to gratifie a Party for Popery and Arbitrary Government, not being then known, her and her Peoples intereſt being reckoned one, and not ſeparated as our Courtiers have ſince done, ſhe became glorious through the World, ſo far as the Name of *England* was heard of; inſomuch, that in honour of her, the Emperor of *Muſcovia* did voluntarily beſtow extraordinary Immunities upon the Engliſh Nation.

When this Queen died, the Renown of *England* ſeems to have died with her; for ſince her time, we have gon backward in Honour and Reputation, having received many Eclipſes: None of our four ſuceeding Kings, nor even *Cromwel* in his almoſt five years Uſurpation, having any one glorious Action to boaſt of, ſave the concern the laſt had for the Proteſtants Liberty in *Piemont*, which I confeſs, ought not to be forgot, tho his War with *Spain* and joyning with *France* is his Reproach.

James the 1ſt was a Scholar qualified for an Univerſity to make Harangues in the Schools, but had nothing beſides to brag of, ſave Diſſimulation, which he called *King-Craft*, but was really his blemiſh; in that by it he ſo far loſt all Reputation, except that of a Pedant, that no Princes or States could confide in him, and for all his boaſted Cunning was ever worſted in Foreign Treaties; as in that with *Spain* about the *Infanta*; with the Emperor about the *Palatinate*; with *Holland* about the cautionary Towns, not in delivering them up, for that was but Juſtice, but in the ſum due to us for them; and as a proof of his great Wiſdom, he ſpent that in fruitleſs Embaſſies, which good Queen *Elizabeth* did in glorious Atchievements. And therefore our flattering Clergy (for their own ends) ſtiling him a *Solomon*, was groundleſs, none ever having deſerved it leſs; his Diverſions wherein he ſpent his time, not being the Care of his People, according to the duty of his Calling, but in Hunting, Masking

and

and Drinking, and to pleaſe the Eccleſiaſticks, by making their Sabbath-days-work eaſie; in promoting the Profanation of that day, in inviting the People by a Declaration to Sports and Games, when they ſhould have been either at Church or at home better imployed; as if the way to fit a People for Arbitrary Government, was firſt to make them godleſs, which Maxim hath been ſince improved.

This King was no ſooner removed to *England*, than forgetting the Methods of Church and State, he had been bred to in *Scotland*, aſpired as much to Arbitrary Government as if he had never heard of any other Principles, as appears by his hectoring Speeches in Parliament. But it was the happineſs of the People, that his Bravery lay only in his Tongue, and that the Nation was not then overrun with the Leproſie of Luxury and Lincentiouſneſs; nor the Eccleſiaſticks and Judges corrupted as they have been ſince; ſo that tho no means or tricks were neglected for compaſſing his Ends, through Providence he failed of his Deſign, his toſſing of Parliaments by Prorogations and Adjournments for bringing them to his bow, not doing his work, he projected for raiſing of Mony (to ſupply the want of Parliaments) the Dignity of Hereditary Baronets; and to induce Gentlemen of the beſt Quality to give Credit to this pernicious Invention by accepting of it, he gave them Precedence of all meerly Knights of the *Bath*, and ſingly Knights Batchelors, not being the younger Sons of Barons, of whom they have no place; but to make the Title more valuable and deſirable, he ingaged that the number ſhould not exceed two hundred. And all this under the Romantick pretence, that every perſon accepting hereof, ſhould be obliged to maintain a certain number of Souldiers in *Ireland* to defend the Proteſtants againſt the Papiſts in that Kingdom; and as a badge of their Duty adds a bloody Hand to their Coat of Arms; yet with this Condition, that each paying 1000 *l.* into the Exchequer, they ſhould be excuſed from that Service; for notwithſtanding the pretence in the Patent, it was meerly a trick to get Mony without Parliaments: As was the conferring Titles upon Women; *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Titles upon Perſons not having any Lands in either Country, a thing not practiſed before: And as to the Title of Baronet, it may be obſerved, that tho it is pretended againſt Papiſts, thoſe of that Religion were as forward to buy this Honour as others;

and

and thus he defrauded the People of the benefit of Parliaments, by expoſing (for raiſing of Mony) this and all other Honours to ſale, which hath been ever reckoned a mark of a depraved and corrupt Government. And thus begun our governing by tricks (hardly known before) which continued till our preſent happy Change; but this according to the Maxim of our Law, *That the King can do no wrong*, muſt refer to his evil Council, and not to him.

This new Honour of Baronets was ſtruck at by ſeveral ſucceeding Parliaments as illegal in the Inſtitution, as well as the end; the firſt in being hereditary without annexing it to ſome place, and the latter in depriving the Nation of their Security in the uſe of Parliaments: But in a little time the Intereſt increaſed ſo much in the increaſe of their Number, that nothing could be done to diſannul this Project; for notwithſtanding the cajoling promiſe of not exceeding two hundred, no limitation was obſerved, the Number (by falling the price to leſs than half, tho obliged to have a Receipt out of the Exechequer for the whole 1000 *l.*) being increaſed to near, if not 1000.

And in theſe and ſuch like waies this celebrated *Solomon* ſpent a Reign of two and twenty years, without bringing any Honour to the Nation; but on the contrary, through evil Counſel a Diminution of it to a great degree; and when he had finiſhed his Courſe, left his Preſidents to his Son *Charles the 1ſt.*

This King, as no Man can deny, followed his Fathers ſteps, and in an higher degree affected abſolute Monarchy, wherein being obſtinate, it was fatal to him; he was free from that open diſſoluteneſs his two Succeſſors have been ſince guilty of; for the Nation not being then arrived at that impudent Profaneſs it is now come to, the People were then modeſt in their Vices, compared with theſe times; yet Lewdneſs then, as it hath ever ſince, increaſed more and more, helped forward by Biſhop *Laud*'s Advice, in diſcouraging Piety and giving incouragement to Debauchery by aſperſing ſober Men with Nicknames, as Puritans and Preciſians, &c. promoting Arminianiſm, the Doctrin of Paſſive Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance; and then, ſeconding this King's Father, in publiſhing another Book of Sports, giving Liberty on the Lords Day for all manner of Games, as Foot-ball, Cudgels, &c. injoyning the reading it in the Churches, to the great grief of all ſerious Chriſtians fearing God,

His Carriage in the State was as offenſive as in the Church; he called Parliaments meerly to ſerve his own turn, without any eye to the Publick; and when they did but enquire into any grievances, as the Death of his Father, who was violently ſuſpected to be poiſoned, &c. they were readily diſſolved. And in *Ann.* 1628. he forbid by Proclamation the ſpeaking of Parliaments (a high Arbitrary Act) he paſſed indeed the Petition of Right aſſerting the Peoples Liberties; but had no ſooner given his Conſent than he broke through all the Bonds of it, illegally forcing the Payment of Tunnage and Poundage, Ship-Mony, Coat and Conduct Mony, Knighthood Mony, impriſoning Members for ſpeaking in Parliaments. To increaſe his Revenue, monopolized (contrary to Law) moſt Commodities, made an extrajudicial uſe of the Star Chamber to the fining, and otherwiſe puniſhing of Gentlemen without cauſe, removing them for their greater vexation, out of their own Counties, to Priſons in other Countries; and to prevent Complaints had no Parliaments in twelve years, nor then, till compelled by the Troubles in *Scotland* to call one: For though that Book falſly intituled this Kings, for which his Admirers Saint him, begins with his ſpontaneous calling of the Parliament in 1640. that Chapter made one of his own Party, upon the reading of it, throw the Book away, ſaying, If it begun with ſo known a Lie, nothing leſs could be expected in it, and therefore would not read it.

This Expreſſion ought to be pardoned, the King not being concerned in it, both his Sons, the two laſt Kings, having confeſſed to the late Earl of *Angleſea*, that their Father did not write the Book, but that it was writ by Dr. *Gaudin*, afterwards Biſhop of *Exeter*. He wreſted the Statute for Foreſts, to the Ruin of many, by the inlarging them; his Court was filled with Prieſts and Jeſuits: He careſſed the Heads of that horrid and odious Rebellion in *Ireland*, clapped up a Peace with them in order to bring thoſe Cut-throats into *England*. His Son *Charles the 2d* confeſſed that the Marqueſs of *Antrim* (reckoned one of the maſſacring Rebels) acted by his Fathers Commiſſion, and upon that account, he had his Eſtate reſtored him by the Court of Claims; he ſolicited the Duke of *Lorain* to bring his more than ordinary rude and wicked Army into *England*; and all this, beſides his deſerting *Rochel* after he had ſtirred them up

to

to ſtand upon their defence, promiſing them Relief, to the ruin of the whole Proteſtant Cauſe, as appears by the Hiſtory of the Siege of *Rochel*.

Theſe are but hints of ſome few of the Practices in his time, which if not ſufficient to ſuſpend (according to the Romiſh Rule) the Sainting him till after an hundred years, that his Vertues may be forgot; Thoſe that read *Ruſhworth*'s Collections, will find enough there for deferring the Solemnization thereof: His Reign was ſo Arbitrary, that I remember it was commonly ſaid, that the ſtudying Proclamations, which made a Volume as big as a Church-Bible, was more neceſſary for Lawyers than their Books: His endeavouring to impoſe a more ſuperſtitious and approaching Liturgy to Popery upon the Church of *Scotland* than ours in *England*, was the beginning of his Troubles; wherein he was as much out in his Politicks as in any of his other Actions; for it could not be well expected, that they, who had ſwept their Church as clean from all the Rubbiſh of *Rome*, as *Geneva* it ſelf, and more zealous and refined in their Doctrin than they, would be eaſily impoſed upon in Matters of Religion: But it was the Pride of Biſhop *Laud*, who was ambitious of being the Founder of a new Popery, and of ſeeing it accompliſhed in his days, by driving too furiouſly, that prevented the deſigned Miſchief; and ſo we find it confeſſed by our Queen Mother, in *Monſieur Siries* Mercury, the *French* Kings Hiſtory Writer for the Affairs of *Italy*, who tells us among many other things concerning *England*, That when the Parliament in 1640. met, the Pope had three Agents in *England* negotiating the reconciling our King to *Rome*, (*viz.*) the Count of *Roſet*, Seignior *Con* and Seignior *Panſanie*; reciting *Roſet*'s Remonſtrance delivered the King to prove it his Intereſt to turn Papiſt; whereupon the King asking, if the Pope would diſpenſe with his Subjects taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, he was told that if he would be a Catholick it muſt be without Conditions. But the Parliament getting a Sent hereof, hunted thoſe Agents ſo cloſe, that *Roſet* was forced to be confeſſed, whilſt diſguiſing himſelf, and then fled for *Ireland*, a little before the Maſſacre, where it's ſaid he died. And it may be obſerved, that at this time this King's Chief Counſellors and Favorites next *Strafford* and *Laud*, were ſuch as whilſt living were ſuſpected, and at Death declared themſelves Pa-

piſts, (*viz.*) *Thomas* Earl of *Arrundle*, Lord *Cottington* and Sir *Francis Windibanck* Secretary of State, and *Laud*'s Kinſman; and not long before Treaſurer *Weſton* died of the ſame Communion.

And the ſame Author, where he writes of the Affairs of *England* tells us further, that Biſhop *L.* and Biſhop *N.* by which muſt be meant the two Archbiſhops, *Laud* and *Neal*, profered the Pope to leave *England*, and go to *Rome*, and for the Credit of that See declare themſelves Papiſts, provided the Pope would allow them at *Rome* the value of their Engliſh Biſhopricks, which they computed each at 16000 Crowns *per annum*; but received for anſwer from the Pope's Nephew, Chief Miniſter of State, who at that time was (as I remember) Cardinal *Franciſco Barbarino*, reputed a great Stateſman, that if their Converſion were real, they might at *Rome* live comfortably of ſo many hundred Crowns *per annum*. For the Cardinal was jealous, that the bottom of *Laud*'s deſign was a Patriarchal Popedom for *England*, which would have been a bad Example for *France* and other Popiſh Countries. If any are curious to know further concerning the Affairs of *England* at that time, I refer them to the aforeſaid *Mercury*, which is writ in *Italian*.

In the ſucceeding eighteen years interval, this Nation received not the leaſt diſhonour, ſave what happened at *Hiſpaniola*, in War with *Spain*, during *Cromwel*'s Uſurpation: For the greateſt part of the reſt of that time our Neighbours trembled when we frowned; tho ſince that, the Cataſtrophy hath been ſuch, that we have trembled at their Frowns, occaſioned by the miſgovernment of *Charles the* 2*d.* who yet came to the Adminiſtration of the Crown moſt advantageouſly, not an Enemy daring to ſhew his Teeth (excepting that mad freak of the 29 Fifth Monarchy Men) he ſeeming to be the univerſal Delight of the People. At *Breda* he promiſed Liberty of Conſcience to thoſe diſſenting Miniſters, that were with others, ſent by Parliament to invite him into *England*; and at his arrival made ſhew of being true to his Word, by appointing at the *Savoy*, in order thereunto, a Conference betwixt the two Parties, the Conformiſts and Diſſenters; but the latter being underhand diſcountenanced by him (who was a great Miniſter of King *James* the *Firſt*'s Art in King-Craft) it came to nothing more than making their Burthens the heavier; ſo that in a ſhort time, the Presbyterians, who had been the chief Authors of his Reſtauration

ſtauration (his own Party being then ſo inconſiderable, that they cannot be ſaid to have contributed more to it, than as Servants to the other) were moſt ungratefully uſed; their Miniſters turned out of their Livings; their Families expoſed to live in a great meaſure upon Charity; and that by him whom they had brought from that Condition himſelf, to the injoyment of three Crowns.

His firſt Parliament acted regularly with an eye to publick good and quiet; paſſing an Act of Indempnity for all, ſave ſome few excepted; which he ſeemed to approve ſo much of, that in his cunning and cajoling way, he gave them the name of the healing Parliament, and then diſſolved it, calling another more to his purpoſe; after which, how he kept his Indempnity appears by his uſage of the great and incomparable Sir *Henry Vane*, Alderman *Ireton*, Mr. *Samuel Moyer*, Major *Gladman*, &c. taking away contrary to Faith, the Life of the firſt, impriſoning others without cauſe, till they redeemed their Liberty by great Sums, like Slaves in *Algiers*; others ſtanding it out till the *Habeas Corpus* Bill came in uſe, after the withdrawing of Chancellor *Hide* (which for ſeven or eight years had been denied, or from the Iniquity of the Times, durſt not be moved for) were freed by Law without Fines.

He pretended great zeal for the Reformed Religion with an Abhorrence of Popery; yet in favour of the latter, endeavoured to ſet the Conformiſts at the greateſt difference with the Diſſenters by ſeveral Acts againſt the latter, and ſevere Proſecution thereupon. And this, whilſt at the ſame time, all proceedings againſt the Papiſts in the Exchequer upon Conviction were ſtopped, to the preſerving of them, when Proteſtant Diſſenters were many of them ruined by cloſe Impriſonments, where they died; he deſigning all a long no leſs than Popery and Slavery, even when he pretended the contrary. His two unjuſt, coſtly and cauſeleſs Wars with *Holland*, being in order thereunto; as was the burning of *London*, and the Popiſh Plot diſcovered by Dr. *Oats*; yet rather than be thought to have any hand in the latter, he ſuffered about twenty perſons which he is ſtrongly ſuſpected to have imployd in it, to dye for it.

When the burning of *London*, the frequent ſubſequent Fires in *Southwark*, St. *Katharines*, and ſeveral parts of the City, &c. would not ſerve his ends, he contrived a Proteſtant Plot for

murthering of himſelf, and (as he untruly ſuggeſted) introducing a Commonwealth; and as the moſt probable Inſtrument (as he thought, tho therein miſtaken) Mr. *Clapol* a Son-in-law of *Cromwel*, muſt be charged with it, and without the leaſt ground clapped up in Priſon, in the cloſeſt way; and had not the real Popiſh Plot broke out, he had ſurely been ſacrificed to give Credit to the Forgery; but Mr. *Capol*'s unſuitable Principles to ſuch a Deſign was enough to detect the Fraud and Villany, he having been in the Civil Wars, reckoned all a long a Royaliſt and Anti-Republican: And thus ill Men are ſometimes caught in their own ſnares, as this King was by his miſtake in this perſon.

This King having by turning and changing, got Judges and Counſellors to his purpoſe, corrupting by Penſions, &c. a Majority in the Parliament, carried all things as he pleaſed, till at laſt he loſt his Credit by the odiouſneſs of the Popiſh Plot, and his Compliance with *France*, to the advancing that King to what he is now come to; teaching him, (compared to what he knew before) to build Ships, man, victual and ſail them; nay even to fight and ſound our Coaſts and Rivers; which was done in the time of his unhappy Adminiſtration, eſpecially in the year 1672. in joyning with him againſt *Holland*, when none of his Ships were ſuffered to fight, but ſtand by and learn, that one *French* Commander that did ingage, being as its ſaid, at his return clapped in the Baſtile for it, which we never heard was complained of by us, nor excuſed by them: Nay, not to be wanting in any thing towards the advancement of the *French* King, we gave him *Canada*, that neceſſary place for our *Newfoundland* Fiſhery; (our chief Nurſery for Seamen) for an inſignificant part, compared to *Canada*, of the Iſland of St. *Chriſtophers*, which had belonged to us, under pretence, that he had taken it from us in our former War with the *Dutch*, when he ſided with them againſt us and ſerved them as he did us, never appearing with them; making uſe only of his Declaration of War for them, to the end, to ſet us together by the Ears; that ſo he might have the better opportunity, to ſet up himſelf, and worm us (as in a great meaſure he hath done) out of our *Newfound Land* Fiſhery, and hath taken it to himſelf; whereas formerly they uſed to pay us a kind of Tribute for Liberty of Fiſhing there; but now through our favour and careleſneſs they

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are arrived to that height of Fiſhing, that they are ſaid to imploy ſo many Men in it, as produceth them five thouſand new Seamen yearly; ſo that by the Conduct of our Counſellors this King is ſince 1662. when he had hardly 20 Men of War great and ſmall, come now to be Maſter of 150 at leaſt: But tho by his wiſe management of Affairs and our bad, he hath rid this Summer in our Channel without controle, I hope he will never do ſo more, nor ever be encouraged to intitle himſelf to the Dominion of the Narrow Seas; except God for our Sins gives us over to be again betrayed by our Counſellors as formerly; for tho Kings themſelves may be ill Men, yet without the like Counſellors, they cannot perpetrate their evil Deſigns.

This Government of ours hath been by our late Kings carried on by tricks, which our Statiſts valued themſelves upon, as the effect of their great Wiſdom; whereas it is truly nothing more than the tranſendency of Immorality, in which honeſter Men have not a latitude. To enumerate their deceitful Artifices is hard, they are ſo many. This King at his Reſtauration in 1660 made a League with the States General in deſign to prepare for a War with them, having then found his Naval Forces very low.

In 1664. he began to quarrel with them without the leaſt cauſe, and againſt their real endeavours for preventing it: But *Downing* being Envoy Extraordinary at the *Hague*, to remove their Jealouſie of us, which was great, gave them according to the Policy of thoſe Times all aſſurance of Friendſhip, telling them, that if their *Eaſt-India* Ships then expected, were above *London*-Bridge, they would be as ſafe as in their own Harbours; yet their Merchants Ships to about the number, as it is ſaid, of 120. were upon frivolous pretences, firſt ſtopped as they came into our Channel, till at laſt ſome Months after, without Declaration of War or any cauſes ſhewn, they were confiſcated; and at the ſame time their *Smirna* Fleet was fallen upon before *Cadiz*; whereupon *Downing* thought fit to make a haſty Retreat by *Mazeland-Sluce*; and this Action was as little to our honour as profit; for tho we ſunk one or two of their Ships, to their great dammage, we took none; and for thoſe ſeized at home, our management was ſo commendable, that upon the ſale of them, as I have heard, the King was made Debtor: And thus this War began, which proſpered in our hands according to the Juſtice of it.

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The firſt year of this War, the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Fleet coming home by the North of *Scotland*, upon the King of *Denmark*'s promiſe of Security, or at leaſt relying upon their League with him, put into *Bergen* in *Norway*; where they were preſently blocked up by our Fleet under the Command of the Earl of *Sandwich*, who ſent in ſome Ships to ſeize them, and had had them delivered, had not the Currier with Orders from *Copenhagen* come too late to the Governour; *Sandwich*'s Ships being beaten off and retired with loſs, before the Orders came; for our Agent in *Denmark* had agreed with that King concerning them; but *Sandwich* not having notice of the Treaty, the deſign was loſt by falling too ſoon upon theſe Ships.

This War laſted near three years, reckoning from our firſt ſeizing of Their Ships: The third year the King had given him 1250000 *l.* for that Summers War; but it was the Wiſdom and Honeſty of our Counſellors, out of good Husbandry, to ſave the Mony, by not ſetting forth a Fleet, which gave opportunity to our Enemies to burn our Ships in Harbour, for which we made an horrid Outcry againſt them as treacherous, in doing it in the time of our Treaty with them for Peace at *Breda*, falſely adding, That it was contrary to a Ceſſation agreed upon; whereas when a Ceſſation was deſired by us, they poſitively denyed it, which is ſufficient to vindicate the Integrity of their Proceedings, in anſwer to ignorant popular Clamour: And indeed, tho our Counſellors might be willing, for their Defence, to have the People underſtand this diſgraceful Affront to proceed from Falſeneſs in the Dutch, I never heard, that they at any time did publickly accuſe them of breach of Faith in this matter or Action.

Being thus worſted, it was pretended that want of Mony was the Cauſe, tho upon examination of the Accounts, by the Commiſſioners appointed by Act of Parliament to that end, there was not much above half ſpent, of what was given expreſly for that War, which evinces our Miſcarriage to proceed from Corrupt Counſels, want of Conduct, and not Mony.

A Peace being concluded, to be revenged on the Dutch for what was our own Fault, we invited them, and the Crown of *Sweeden* to a Triple League with us againſt *France*, for reſtraining that King in his aſpiring Deſigns, wherein the Dutch were real, when our Deſign was only to render them odious to the French

King,

King, and enrage him againſt them, that by our then joyning with him, we might both together deſtroy them, and in them the Proteſtant Chief Bulwark.

Accordingly in 1671. at the Interview at *Dover* betwixt *Charles* II. and his Siſter the Dutcheſs of *Orleance*, [illegible]as agreed to break the Triple League, to joyn with *France* againſt the Dutch; and to ſatisfie the *Swede* for this Breach Mr. *Henry Coventry* was ſent Ambaſſador to that Crown, who procured from them the Diſſolution of the League. When this was done, and we had recovered Breath, after the Diſgrace we received in the former War, to have a Pretence for a ſecond: One of our Yachts was ordered, in her coming from *Holland*, to ſteer out of her Courſe, and through the States Naval Fleet, then riding at Sea, that in caſe the whole Fleet did not ſtrike to our Boat, we might make that the ground of a Quarrel.

That great Commander *de Ruyter*, then Admiral, not thinking their Articles of Peace could be underſtood to reach ſuch a little Circumſtance, did not anſwer our Demands or Expectation, and for not doing it, together with ſome Trivial Medals and Pictures, which that People are much addicted to, was made the Cauſe of a Quarrel without Remedy, and Dr. *Stubbs*, as a fit Man for the Work, was ſent for out of the Country, to maintain by Writing the Juſtice of our Cauſe, which for 400 *l.* he performed the beſt he could, by two large Pamphlets, in the latter of which having been too free, in his magnifying the wiſe and excellent Management of the War againſt the Dutch, in that time called a Commonwealth, when we firſt made known unto the World our Greatneſs at Sea in beating them when in their *Zenith*, (which coſt, with the Ships in that time Built, 210000 *l.*) this Pamphlet was for ſome time ſtopped, till there being a neceſſity for it, that it paſſed; and when *Stubbs* was by a Friend of mine queſtioned, how he could in Conſcience write ſo falſly and injuriouſly againſt the Dutch? He confeſſed, He could write much more for them, than he had done againſt them, if he would.

After a Pretence for War was agreed on, the next thing requiſite was to find a Fund for the Charge, which was very difficult; for the Parliament having by woful Experience felt, from ill Conduct, the Burthen of the firſt War, was unwilling to engage in a ſecond; but at laſt the new made Lord *Clifford*, with the help of his

his Friends, projected the ſtopping of all private Payments in the Exchequer, for which, as a Reward, he had the Treaſurers White Staff given him; the Fund gained hereby being about 13 or 1400000 *l.* which was a loſs to particular Creditors, many of them being ruined by it, ſo that from the Immorality of the Project, the Author of it deſerved rather another Reward, than that he received.

The War was commenced without any previous Declaration, by falling upon their *Smirna* Fleet in the Chanel (as we had done in the firſt War before *Cadiz*) as they were upon their Voyage home, wherein we miſcarried, as well to our Diſhonour in being worſted, as in beginning the War by Surprize. In this War we ſhould have had the Aſſiſtance of *France*, and had a Squadron of that Kings Ships joyned us, but in deſign only to teach them to fight, ſound our Coaſts and not help us; for (as it is before mentioned) that one Ship which from ignorance of the Intreague, did fight, the Captain of her at his return home was (as is reported) clapped up in the Baſtile for hazarding his Maſters Ship. The Parliament perceiving the drift of the *French* to be the weakning of both Parties, that at long run he might become Superior to either or both, preſſed the King to a Peace betwixt us and the *Dutch*; which he (tho) unwillingly, conſented to; for not knowing how to deny ſo juſt a requeſt, a Peace was concluded.

Now new meaſures were taken, and a new Miniſter of State made choice of, one intirely devoted to the Kings Will without reſerve. To gain the Kings ends, a Majority of the Members of Parliament was corrupted by Penſions, which were liberally beſtowed upon ſuch as were of depraved Principles, fit for any miſchief, by which means, every thing, during ſome time, brought barefaced into the Houſe of Commons, and afterwards by ſide-winds, for the Kings particular Deſigns, paſſed currently; until the Court going too high for a ſtanding Revenue, the Penſioners ſuſpecting, that when that was gained their Penſions would ceaſe, they turned readily againſt the Court; which cauſed them for gaining Mony from the Parliament to pretend a quarrel to *France*, and in all haſte to raiſe an Army to that end; and to procure belief of their real Intentions, a Book under the Title of *Chriſtianiſſimus Chriſtianandus*, writ by Dr. *Marchemond Needham* was publiſhed, rendring the *French* King ſo ſcandalous

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in all his Ways, Actions and Deſigns, as cannot be thought would have been writ, without having firſt that King's Leave for writing it.

The Parliament, to take away from the King all Pretences of Complaint, gave him a Supply, by which he raiſed an Army; but finding in the Iſſue, that he was not real in his Pretenſions for a War, by refuſing to declare War, they preſſed him to disband his new-rais'd Army; and to effect the ſame, gave him Money to do it with; appointing Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *Thomas Player*, Col. *Whitley*, and Col. *Birch* to ſee it done; who diſcharged the Truſt repoſed in them with all Fidelity and Honeſty.

Theſe Arts or Tricks uſed for the Service of the *French* King, by which our Parliament was diſobliged, our King had no Cauſe to doubt but that that King would hold himſelf obliged to aſſiſt him; and therefore he was applied to, and probably he had gained from him a ſtipend of 300000 *l. per Annum* for ſome Years, had not the Duke of *Buckingham* prevented it: and upon what other Account, than of being a Friend to his native Country, is unknown: However, he did not only thereby irrecoverably loſe the Favour of the Court, but alſo drew ſo much the Hatred of it upon himſelf, that he was proſecuted for a Crime, which, tho the Authors of the Proſecution made little Conſcience of the thing themſelves, they hoped by it to have taken away his Life for being inſtrumental in preſerving the Life of the Nation.

The Diſcovery of theſe, and other pernicious Deſigns, begot (not without cauſe) a great Jealouſie in the Parliament, of the Court and their Party; which carried them on to the Addreſſing the King againſt ſome conſiderable Perſons, as evil Counſellors; which was for ſome time avoided by Adjournments and Prorogations of Parliament, till the horrid Popiſh Plot breaking out, thoſe Tricks could not longer hinder the impeaching ſeveral of them in Parliament for the higheſt of Crimes, bringing one of them to the Block; as had not Diſſolution of Parliaments prevented it, the reſt in all likelihood had had the ſame Fate, all of them having been arraigned at the Bar of the Lord's Houſe, where ſome pleaded Guilty in pleading the King's Pardon; by which, Time being got for arguing the Point, till by the Diſſolution of ſeveral Parliaments, (which was on purpoſe to prevent Juſtice) they were unduly preſerved, for no ſuch Pardon (as the Lawyers ſay) againſt an Impeachment in Parliament is valuable in Law; and the King

having no power to pardon Offences, where in the Indictment he is not made a Party, as he is not by Impeachments in Parliaments, they being by the Houſe of Commons, in the Name of all the Commons of *England*. The Diſſolution of Parliaments doth not give Priſoners at the Suit of the Commons the privilege of being bailed, no inferiour Court having by Law any ſuch power; eſpecially the fault of their not being brought to Trial not being in the Parliament, but in the King, in not ſuffering them to ſit till they had cleared, or paſſed Judgment upon them, as he ought to have done.

This King, an Artiſt in King *James* I's King-craft, obſerving his Conduct to have loſt all Reputation, confeſſed by a Declaration his Errour, in governing his Affairs by Cabals, and not by Parliaments, and his Privy Council, by whoſe Advice he had always thriven beſt; reſolving for the future to be ruled by them, without Cabals: And in Conformity thereunto, he diſſolved entirely, by the ſaid Declaration, his Privy Council, and choſe another, under the notion of a new Council, into which was taken ſome of the moſt popular and honeſt Members of the Houſe of Commons; as the good Lord *Ruſſel*, the then Lord *Cavendiſh*, Sir *Henry Capel*, Mr. *Powle*, *&c.* but the Majority being of the old Leaven, they ſoon found that the deſign of bringing them into the Council was merely to give Credit to their ſiniſter Proceedings; which made them as ſoon unanimouſly withdraw, rather than be in the leaſt acceſſary to their unwarrantable and deſtructive Counſels and Actions. So that tho ſome will have the ſmall time theſe Gentlemen were in Council, to have been a great advantage to the Court, in their Reputation, and blame them for it, I am of a contrary Opinion; and that there could not have been a greater, and more prejudicial Affront put upon a Prince, than that by ſuch an unanimous and publick Leaving of his Council, in a way that amounted to no leſs than a Proteſt againſt his Proceedings; which could not but make a more diſadvantageous Impreſſion on the Minds of the People, than ſo ſhort a Continuance with them could be of advantage to the King.

Now new Meaſures were again taken, and with them a new Miniſter of State choſen; ſeveral Parliaments are diſſolved, and new ones called, in hopes of getting one at laſt to ſerve their turn; but the People growing more and more ſenſible of the Growth of Popery and Slavery, ſent ſuch ſuitable Members to the

Condition

Condition of the Nation, that they were almoſt as ſoon diſſolved as aſſembled, for three Parliaments ſucceſſively; and then, to be revenged of the Corporations for ſending ſuch Members, and of the Members themſelves for being averſe to the Deſtruction of the Nation, *Quo Warranto*'s, by the Advice of a new Set of evil Counſellors, were brought, to take away the old, and give them new Charters, that might ſubject them to the arbitrary Will of the Prince; (illegal in the higheſt degree.) Nay, Burroughs by Preſcription were deſtroyed, and Charters impoſed upon them, to the infringing of their Privileges. *Hereford*, I think, was the firſt that had a new Charter impoſed upon them, by which all Power was ſo reſerved in the King, as an Example for thoſe that ſhould follow, that one might have thought ſhould have wrought an Hatred in all true Engliſh Men, to the Authors or Abettors of ſuch Counſels.

The Charter of *London*, by many Acts of Parliaments, and in the comprehenſiveſt manner confirmed, was ſo gallantly defended by the City, nothing material being againſt them, as appears by the learned Arguments of the Lord Chief Juſtice *Pollixfen*, and Mr. Attorney General *Treby*, that one may wonder there ſhould be Lawyers found to plead againſt it; and that ſuch were found, is a Reproach upon the Perſons for being too mercenary.

As *Quo Warranto*'s were for being revenged of the Corporations, ſo a Proteſtant Plot was contrived, as well to ſtifle the Popiſh Plot, as to deſtroy ſuch Gentlemen as were thought to ſtand in the way of Arbitrary Power and Popery, by falſe Evidence, leaving treaſonable Papers at their Houſes (as was done at Mr. *Dubois*'s Houſe in *London*;) or putting them into their Pockets, and then ſeizing them, (of which Mr. *Fitz-Harris* gave my Lord *Shaftsbury* warning:) Which made thoſe that knew they were under the Envy of the Court, when they were to come into Crowds, to ſow up their Pockets, to prevent practiſing ſuch Tricks upon them.

Fitz-Harris, whoſe Province it was to act in theſe ways, to get or make treaſonable Lampoons, to trepan Perſons falſly judged to be of Antimonarchical Principles, for not playing his part well, and fearing his Diſcovery, according to his Promiſe to the then Sheriffs, of the Popiſh Plot, had a Rope for his Reward, being Drawn, Hanged and Quartered; but, as a Gratuity for his weak Endeavours, his Head and Quarters were given to his Wife to bury. Soon after he was dead, an impudent, falſe and

lying Confeſſion was made for him, as is fully demonſtrated by the publiſhed Anſwer of thoſe concerned in it, under the Title of *Truth vindicated, in reference to the Aſperſions caſt upon Sir* Robert Clayton, &c. *publiſhed in the name of Dr.* Hawkins, *as* Edward Fitz-Harris's *Confeſſion.* As alſo, the falſeneſs of this Confeſſion appears by the laſt Actions of his Life, *(viz.)* the Paper he read at his Execution, which was printed; and his giving the Sheriffs Thanks for their Civility and Kindneſs to him, which were his laſt Words; and yet by his Confeſſion, he is made to complain of them.

The deſign of this Confeſſion, and publiſhing of it, was by it to vindicate the Guilty, and accuſe the Innocent; for certain Perſons being determined for Deſtruction, it was thought fit to make them hereby odious to the People; that when they ſhould be murthered by Form of Law, their Deaths might be the leſs reſented.

To give an Inſtance of the Evidence made uſe of in theſe Times, the Witneſſes againſt my Lord *Shaftsbury* were ſo ſcandalous, as Ages to come will not believe that ſuch ſhould be offered againſt any Man, much leſs one of his Quality: As *Booth*, a Miniſter of the Church of *England*, and Parſon of *Ogle*, in *Northumberland*; well known to be an infamous Raſcal, and violently ſuſpected for the Murther of one of his Servants, to conceal his Clipping of Money, of which he was (notwithſtanding) convicted; and condemned, and had been hanged, had not the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, who gave him his Parſonage at *Ogle*, begged his Pardon. And I have heard an honeſt Divine of the Church, who had known him from his Youth, ſay, that he could write a Volume of his Rogueries: So that nothing leſs than ſhameleſs Impudence could have produced him againſt the Life, Honour, or Eſtate of any one. The reſt of the Witneſſes were not better, as the Affidavits hereunto annexed do evince, *Barry*, or Narrative-*Smith* being one, *&c.* And that ſuch Evidence might paſs with the Grand Jury, both they and the Witneſſes were heard in Court, that the firſt might be brow-beaten, and the latter countenanced, and hear what one another ſaid; (at leaſt an unuſual Method, if not contrary to Law.) And to help all forward, the Lord Chief Juſtice told the Grand Jury, that they were not to enquire into the Credibility of the Witneſſes; whilſt the Law, in expreſs Words, ſpeaks the contrary. And to make all ſure, that none ſhould eſcape, whom the Court at *Whitehall* would have deſtroyed, the Witneſſes to an Indictment,

Indictment brought againſt a Combination of Rogues, for Perjury, and Subornation of Perjury, to diſable them for taking away the Lives of the Innocent, the Lord Chief Juſtice refuſed to ſwear them, becauſe againſt the King's Evidence, except the Attorney General would give leave; who, he could not but know, was too much of the Court-Faction to do it: By which means thoſe Villains eſcaped Conviction, and left at liberty to hang whom they pleaſed. And tho Mr. *Bethel*, then Sheriff, complained publickly in Court, that he had Affidavits to prove his Life ſo far deſigned againſt, that thoſe profligate Raſcals offered (in *Auguſt*, 1681.) to lay Wagers of Ten to One, that they would hang him before *Chriſtmaſs* following, he could not procure any Proceedings againſt them: But it is believed that his Complaint had this Effect, that it hinder'd the Attorney General's producing a Bag of Indictments he had then ready againſt ſeveral honeſt and innocent Perſons, againſt whom theſe Varlets ſhould have been made uſe of. And this was the Conſequence of the Courts turning out and changing Judges, till they had got Men for their turn, who would make any thing Law the Court would have; and who having by Penſions and Rewards, got Witneſſes to ſwear accordingly; and by packing of Juries, got ſuch as would find what they would have found, it was in the King's power to hang whom he pleaſed; and that of a large Liſt of Perſons marked out for Deſtruction, there were no more murthered, muſt be aſcribed to the over-ruling Hand of Providence. The Lord deliver us from the like Times, when Judges, Juries, Witneſſes and Council, all ſtrive who ſhould moſt ſignalize their Zeal for Tyranny, by ſtrains of Wit, and wreſting of Law; as appears by Mr. *Hawle*'s Remarks upon ſome of the Trials of thoſe Times. Beſides, ambitious Citizens, Officers in Places of Profit, Penſioners, and Suitors for the like, were all the ſame; inſomuch that it might in ſome meaſure be ſaid, that all Fleſh had corrupted their Ways, and if we ſhould again hunt with the ſame Dogs, they would ſtart the ſame Hare.

The Parliament by ſeveral Acts hath judged the Lord *Ruſſel*, Colonel *Sidney*, Alderman *Corniſh* murthered, voted Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* the ſame, reverſed ſeveral unjuſt Verdicts to the perpetual Infamy of all thoſe Juries, and yet have pardoned moſt of the Murtherers and Oppreſſors by an Act of Indempnity; which may well be feared, will incourage the like in the future

ture againſt all that ſhall ſtand in the way of Arbitrary Government, if we have a King that ſhall affect it.

The corrupting and viciating the Nation had been long deſigned, as neceſſary for introducing Popery and Slavery; for whilſt Men are virtuous, and not afraid of the Laws, they will expect and contend for the benefit of them; but when by Debauchery and Immorality they ſtand in need of Indulgence, for incouragement of their Luſts, they will be careleſs of their civil Rights; and therefore the lewdeſt Examples were thought fit to be given them, with connivance at their Practice, as in ſwearing, whoring, drinking, atheiſtical and blaſphemous Drollery, diſcouraging all Religion, ſave what conſiſted in meer formality, without diſcouraging diſſoluteneſs; ſome of the worſt of Men being made choice of to gratifie with Honours, Penſions and places of Profit: But of all the odious ways uſed to gain a Party, none like that of teaching Youths to drink Healths with *Huzzaes*, crying up the breach of Laws for Loyalty (when nothing is ſuch, but Obedience according to Law, the contrary being Diſloyalty) as was the publick feaſting of the Apprentices of *London* with the Kings Veniſon, not leaving it in the power of their Maſters, without making themſelves obnoxious, to forbid them that School of Vertue, or command obedience in contradiction thereof; and that this ſhould be projected by the greateſt of the Court, who graced their Society with their preſence, may be reckoned, for all their Wit, an Error in Politicks, in courting in ſuch manner the Mobile, or rather Rabble (as it was no leſs;) in whom there is no conſtancy; for being acted by preſent apprehenſions or humor, they are as uncertain as the Wind; nothing being to be relied upon, ſave honeſt unſelfiſh Principles, for ſuch will in the end prevail in ſpite of all the Devils in Hell; and in the Faith of this I ſhall dye, tho I may not live to ſee it.

Theſe and ſuch like courſes, which moſt of our Conforming Parſons teaching from their Pulpits, in Taverns and Coffee-houſes, the Doctrin of Paſſive Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance without limitation, hath ſo poiſoned the Nation, that without an extraordinary Work of God, a Recovery cannot be expected; for tho I think, the good People of *England* of all Communions are the beſt, I believe the Profane as they are by ill Examples of late years brought unto, are the worſt of Men, exceeding

ceeding all others in wicked and immoral Practices, which we owe chiefly, to the two laſt Kings Examples, their evil and pernicious Counſellors and Favourites.

It is a Maxim in our Law, *that the King can do no wrong*, which muſt refer only to Matters of State, and not perſonal Actions; for that it cannot be denyed, but he that lies with another Man's Wife, or kills his Neighbour, &c. doth them wrong: but as the King, in other caſes muſt act by Inſtruments; ſo it is but reaſonable, they ſhould be anſwerable for miſcarriages in Government; becauſe being free Agents, what they do is of choice, the Service of Princes being ſought and not compulſed; and were it not for evil Counſellors, Princes would no be ſo bad as they often are. Queen *Elizabeth* of famous Memory, her Vertue appeared, not only in her natural, juſt and equal Principles, but alſo in the election of ſuitable Counſellors, Men at leaſt morally honeſt, aiming more at publick than their own private Benefit; ſhe incouraged Vertue, making Honour the Reward of it, and not of pimping and all manner of Vice; ſhe reproved her great Favourite (that unhappy) Earl of *Eſſex*, whom ſhe made General in her Expedition for *Cadiz*, for conferring the honour of Knighthood upon ſome few, whoſe Service at that time, he judged deſerved it, when ſhe thought a leſs Reward might have ſerved. In her time, Knighthood was not expected voluntarily by any Citizens, ſave the Lord Mayor; nor was it thought of by the two ſucceeding Kings, till *Charles* the *Firſt*, at his Return from *Scotland* in 1641. after failing in his deſign there againſt Duke *Hamilton*, Marquis of *Argile* and General *Leſly*, &c. thinking it a convenient way to corrupt a Party for his intended quarrel with the Parliament; that he Knighted ſeveral Aldermen of the City of *London*; and after that, both he and his Son *Charles* the Second made liberal uſe of their Sword in dubbing all that came near them, from whom they could hope, for the leaſt aſſiſtance, in their deſign for Popery and Slavery; the deliverers of Addreſſes, abhorring petitioning for Parliaments, as likewiſe thoſe giving thanks for diſſolving the beſt of Parliaments, &c. being procured by the Emiſſaries of *Charles* the Second, could not in the opinion of thoſe that hated Parliaments, deſerve leſs than a Knighthood, to the incouragement of others to follow their Example. It may be the Enemies to this good Queen will object that ſhe had ſome angry fits; to which

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may be anſwered, that they were born with, as Children at ſuch times do with their Parents, being ſatisfied that ſhe had a true and ſincere love for the Nation; upon which account ſome little Paſſions ſubject to her ſex might very well be indured.

The Eſtates, that have by corrupt waies to advance the Prerogative, been raiſed, and Honours conferred in the four laſt Reigns, eſpecially ſince the Reſtauration, exceeds I believe above forty times thoſe in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; and yet the number of years of all their Reigns, abating the eighteen years interval, comes a quarter part ſhort of doubling hers; She made few Lords, about four or five; very ſparing of Knighthood, and never conferred any, but (as is before noted) for Merit; and accordingly ſhe thriv'd in the Love of her Subjects at home, and Honour abroad. In her time the Nation was famous for glorious Actions, as before mentioned, in relieving the oppreſſed Proteſtants in *France*, *Scotland* and *Holland*, which ſhe could not have done, had ſhe been tyed up by the late deviſed Doctrin of Paſſive Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance; beſides ſubduing her Rebels in *England* as well as in *Ireland*, and pulling down, when none elſe could do it, the proud Houſe of *Auſtria*, deſigning then the univerſal Monarchy; whereas I do not find one generous or honourable Act to be boaſted of, during the laſt four Reigns.

There are two ill Notions in behalf of Statiſts, which to the prejudice of Mankind have prevailed in the World, the one the calling Knavery Reaſon of State, by which they excuſe all their ſiniſter and wicked deſigns, as if God had left us without honeſt means for preſerving our ſelves; the other, that Wit and Parts do alone qualifie a perſon for the ſervice of his Prince in his weightieſt Affairs: It's true ſuch qualities are ornaments and with Honeſty without Debauchery (which provokes God's Judgments) are fitteſt for publick Imployment, and below Adoration cannot be too much magnified and applauded; yet good ordinary parts with Diligence and Integrity, is much beyond the higheſt flowen parts without the other; and we find great things have been done, by ſuch as have not otherwiſe exceeded than in Uprightneſs, Induſtry and Sincerity; for without theſe Vertues Men are but like the Devils, the worſe for their Wit; and therefore of all Men, as to publick Imployments, Men of depraved Principles are to be avoided, and they may infallibly be diſcovered,

diſcovered, if formerly imployed by their Actions in thoſe times; for if they have been wicked in one Reign, they will be the ſame in another; except there appear in them, a ſignal Teſtimony of Repentance and Reformation; and beſides, they may be known by their Favourites; for he that makes choice of ſuch for his Confidents, as are of Immoral Principles, formerly guilty of Injuſtice, Oppreſſion and Cruelty, may well be concluded to be of the ſame Principles himſelf; for *Birds of a Feather flock together*, and that Proverb ſeldom fails, That *a Man may be known by his Companion.*

The Spirit of God ſaith, *Take away the wicked from before the King, and his Throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed in Righteouſneſs*: But our laſt Kings did ſo little regard this Divine Exhortation, that when the Commons in Parliament (who ought to be accounted good Judges of Mens fitneſs for State Imployment) have in diſcharge of their Duties, endeavoured to follow this Advice, by addreſſing againſt obnoxious perſons; tho they were never ſo vile, it was the way to advance them in their Princes Favour, as *Sibthorp* and *Manwaring*, &c. to the dignifying and farther rewarding them with Penſions or places of Profit; and then to protect them by Adjournments, Prorogations or Diſſolutions of Parliaments, to which we owe the diminution of our Glory abroad, and the exaltation of our lately become great Neighbour.

Now if any of theſe perſons be in being, tho upon ſome accounts they may merit a pardon for former Crimes, it cannot an opportunity of acting over-again, what they have been already guilty of, to the prejudice and danger of the Nation, but of being diſabled of all farther Imployments, either Eccleſiaſtical, Civil or Military.

The Iniquity of the late times was ſo great, that nothing that could help the introducing of Slavery was left unattempted, inſomuch, that we owe our Deliverance meerly to the Providence of God. The giving Power to the King, to levy Mony in the Interval of Parliaments upon emergent occaſions, which he was to be Judge of, was projected by our Counſellors, for the perfecting our Slavery; and to get a Majority in the Houſe to effect it, all ways poſſible were uſed; as the buying the Votes of Members of Parliament, by Penſions (the higheſt of Treaſons in the Judgment of that great Oracle of the Law, Sir

John Mainard) maintaining Tables at the publick Charge; managed by ſome Members of the Houſe, that what could not be done by dry Mony, might be by Debauchery, highly odious, as well in the Executors as Deſigners; both proceeding from ſordid, ſlaviſh and unmanly Principles: And ſo many Members had by theſe means liſted themſelves againſt *Magna Charta*, that had they not feared the ſelling of the Nation, would have proved the ſelling of their own Stipend or Wages, all had gone; which leaves us without being indebted in the leaſt to our Truſtees, for refuſing to give us up to Arbitrary Power and Popery. But I do not in this deny, but that there were a conſiderable number of worthy Patriots, that would rather have ſuffered death, than have ſold the Rights and Privileges of their Country, (whoſe Names deſerve to be writ in Letters of Gold to Poſterity, whilſt th' other to be obliterated or marked with Infamy) had they not alas been over voted by a corrupt and depraved Party, which muſt raiſe the Indignation of all true freeborn Engliſhmen againſt thoſe in the late times, that have had any hand in plotting, projecting or abetting the betraying of their Country, if ſtill they continue the ſame Principles without remorſe.

Beſides the ways uſed, as is before mentioned, for the introducing of Popery and Slavery, it may be obſerved, That whereas the Deſigns of good Queen *Elizabeth* were againſt the Pope and his Adherents, the Deſigns of our late Governors have been for him and his Friends. All the little tricks ſerviceable therein having been made uſe of; as the impoſing Conſuls upon our Merchants abroad, in places where they had never been before, meerly at their charge, to gratifie and oblige to them the worſt of Men; giving them Patents to levy Mony, under pretence of their Office, upon the Subjects without their conſent, contrary to the fundamental Liberties of *England*, as was done at *Amſterdam*, &c. And the like vigorouſly endeavoured in behalf of a profeſſed Papiſt at *Roterdam*, but by the ſuddenneſs of our Revolution they failed in that. And alſo another approach to Arbitrary Government, was the paſſing by the Rules, directed by the Law, for chuſing Sheriffs for the Counties, and taking them at large, as might be moſt ſerviceable to unlimited Will and Luſt, &c. And ſuch Practices as theſe were ſo many, as are hardly to be enumerated; and now having remembred

membred theſe, they with what goes before, and our League with *France*, for exalting him in order to his humbling and bringing us low, one may think are enough to render thoſe times, and the Actors in them, odious and unfit for future Truſt; nothing that comes from ſuch, tho never ſo plauſibly delivered, but the Integrity of it ought to be ſuſpected: For as formerly they cryed out of 41 as a Scarecrow, that Notion being now worn thread-bare, they have taken up that of a Commonwealth and the care of the Church, to couſen the good People of this Nation into a jealouſie of their beſt Friends, whilſt their Enemies work their ruin; but it is hoped that experience hath made them wiſer, than to be ſo impoſed upon by miſapplying of Names.

The Word *Commonwealth*, tho the Language of the Law was endeavoured to be made an obnoxious Character of all ſuch as ſhould ſpeak of Law, or expect the benefit of it; and it is to be feared, that the ſame Projectors do aim at the ſame Deſign, in adding to the word Commonwealth, the Care of the Church; becauſe a plauſible Notion, when it is in no danger, except of reducing them to a more ſober and vertuous Life and Converſation; otherwiſe they would think it for the honour of the Church, to have Men of Sobriety and Morality, accounted Members of it; and yet they will not allow any to be of the Church of *England*, tho ſuch as were never at a ſeparate Congregation in their Lives, and as ready and perfect in their Reſponſes, as any Cathedral Man whatever, if free from Immorality, and for ruling according to Law.

But it is no wonder, that our Bigotted Churchmen (who are the only Men I mean) ſhould be willing to forget Forty one, and in place thereof, to take up an outcry for Care of the Church; becauſe about that time, the Committee for ſcandalous Miniſters appointed by Parliament, diſcovered great Lewdneſs and Ignorance in many of the Clergy; and had not the War prevented their Proceedings, they had at that time, purged the whole Kingdom of inſufficient, Popiſhly affected, ſuperſtitious and debauched Miniſters; but having no Command over any, (by reaſon of the War) ſave ſuch as were near hand; they could not receive Information from above ſix or ſeven Counties, which afforded them, according to my Information, not above three Centries; the firſt of which (having eſcaped the Flames

of *London*) is to be bought at Mr. *Millers*, Bookſeller near *Paul's* Church; by which it appears, they were ſo horridly ſcandalous, that the Parliament could not have expoſed the Church; and therein the Biſhops of thoſe times, for want of care in their Viſitations, had not Complaints from *Oxford*, for having unjuſtly deprived them, forced the Parliament for their own Vindication, to make the Names of the particular Miniſters with their Crimes known by publiſhing them in Print.

And if by the outcry of having a Care of the Church, is meant the having ſuch another Inquiſition, all ſober Men will readily agree to it; and if in the time of *Charles* the *Firſt*, of ſo celebrated a memory for Piety, there was need of ſuch an Inquiry into the Lives, Converſations, Popiſhly affected and Sufficiency of the Clergy; it may well be thought much more needful, after the ſeveral Reigns of his two Sons; beſides, if they be not prevented, they may as they have already begun, go on in taking upon them the Legislative Power, by farther Impoſitions in the Worſhip of God: For though the Act for injoyning the Book of Common Prayer forbids, both affirmatively and negatively, any other Method or Form of Service, Rights or Ceremonies than is there directed, they are great Non-Conformiſts, in diſobeying that rule, in ſeveral additions in approach to Popery, as in their ſecond Service, &c. as alſo in being ſuperabundant to Popery, in endeavouring to make a ſuperſtitious faſhion, to ſit bare during Sermon, which is but a new thing in *England*, and not known in any other Chriſtian Church; for tho the Papiſts are bare in their Church out of Service time, whom we indeavour to imitate in that circumſtance, yet they are covered during Sermon, wherein we outgo them; the reaſon for which I leave to themſelves, confeſſing I never underſtood any for the one more than for th' other; and if it be objected, that our Church doth not command being bare during Sermon, yet they do it in making it uncivil to do otherwiſe. And the Miniſter of *Finchly*, not long ſince, cauſed one for being covered, whilſt he was in his Sermon, to be committed; who bringing his Action againſt the Juſtice, for falſe Impriſonment, recovered good damages of him; which tho ſufficient to prove the Churches Uſurpation in this matter, they do notwithſtanding go on in it, as a part of that new Popery formerly intended by *Laud*, in his time.

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This may perhaps be thought Severity upon the Church, but there is no general Rule without an Exception; and I believe there are many good Men to be herein excepted, tho the Generality are guilty, and ſo bigotted, that there is no obliging them, or Quarter to to be had with them, by any, but ſuch as themſelves; which is the unhappy Cauſe of our great Diviſions at this time, eſpecially in the City of *London*; and that which is worſt of all, without Remedy, ſo long as nothing leſs than the Denial of Senſe, Reaſon and Morality will be allowed by our Bigots, (the Perſons I only complain of,) as the Conditions of Union and Converſation; and theſe following Inſtances may well be thought, in ſome meaſure, a proof hereof: As, The Lieutenancy refuſing a Captain, becauſe it was objected againſt him, that he had, ſixteen Years before, heard that eminent Miniſter of the Goſpel, Mr. *Jenkins*, (now with God,) preach a Sermon: As another was refuſed by one of their Captains, being his Lieutenant, for anſwering to the Queſtion of What Miniſter he heard? That he heard ſuch an one, a moderate Churchman: Upon which he was told by the Captain, that Moderation would not ſerve at this time; and therefore rejected him, as not for his turn: Whereupon, the Party that ſhould have been his Enſign being by, and hearing it, moved with Indignation thereat, rejected him for his Immoderation, and denied to ſerve him; and all this ſince the Act of Toleration. But this Spirit reigns ſo violently in them, that they are now feared to be more ready than formerly, ſhould they, by Sheriffs like themſelves be called upon Juries, to murther and undo, by falſe Verdicts, all that ſhall be known to own King *William* and Queen *Mary* to be King and Queen *de Jure*, as well as *de Facto*.

And now I leave *Charles* II. whoſe Council and Favourites left nothing undone, which might perfect the Deſtruction of *England*, ſave the Selling *Tangier* to the *French*; which that they did not do, is one of the Wonders of this Reign. There needs no other Character of this King, than his Anſwer to one, who deſiring him to have regard in his Deportment, to his Memory after Death, (*viz.*) That *Let not Men ſpeak ill of him whilſt he lived, and he cared not what they ſhould ſay of him when he was dead.*

How he was taken away is in the dark, but vilely ſuſpected: His Succeſſor may be ſaid not to be ſo Godleſs as he, tho not leſs cruel; but from what Principle is not to be determined, unleſs

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it was from being both equal as to Fear, from whence Cruelty doth generally proceed. I know, all the ill things done by the eldeſt Brother, is ordinarily laid to the Charge of the younger; wherein I differ from that common Opinion, believing that *Charles* II. was never impoſed upon by *James* II. but the firſt having the Maſter-wit, and with it great Cunning, was willing his Brother ſhould have the Name of any thing offenſive to the People, when even it was that himſelf deſired moſt to have done. And thus ends the Reign of *Charles* II. whoſe Practices for arriving at Arbitrary Power and Popery appear, in ſome degrees, over and above what is before mentioned, by the Affidavits hereunto annexed, with Captain *Wilkinſon*'s Information; which ſhew the Subornation of Perjury to have been uſed by his Miniſters, for taking away the Lives of innocent Men.

James II. who ſucceeded his Brother *Charles* II. ſending two Men to *Amſterdam*, when Duke of *York*, to burn their Ships in Harbour; who being taken, and at Execution confeſſing the Fact, it ſticks much upon him in that Country, as do ſeveral other Actions in this, which, for the ſake of his vertuous Succeſſors, ought to be forgot, were it not neceſſary to give ſome Hints, for the vindication of the preſent Government, and juſtifying the late King's Abdication. The Burning of *London*, and the many Fires ſince at St. *Katherines*, and *Southwark*, *&c.* belonged without doubt, to the Popiſh Plot; and how far the then Duke of *York* was concerned therein, *Coleman*'s Letters, in print, in ſome kind ſhew.

But to paſs by all other things before his coming to the Crown, he no ſooner arrived at the Throne, than he declared himſelf a Papiſt; a Name (in favour of that Religion) out of faſhion ever ſince the Reſtoration; but being the Language of the Law, I think fitteſt to be uſed. At his firſt appearing in Council after his Brother's Death, which was as quick as could be, he promiſed to rule according to Law; and yet, in two or three Days after, commanded by Proclamation the Payment of Cuſtoms, before given by Parliament, which is contrary to Law; and from that time forward went on in the ſame way, going publickly to Maſs the firſt *Lord's Day*, of which Religion the bigotted Churchmen (who will never believe any thing till it be too late) would not before own him to be.

His

His Brother died on the *Friday*, and *Saturday*-ſeven-nights after was in the Evening privately buried. Before the Burial he knighted Sir *Peter Rich*, and ſoon after did the ſame by Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*, and made Sir *George Jeoffreys* a Baron; none of which three, as may be obſerved, would King *Charles* II. ſo far dignifie, tho he had made them his Tools to ſerve the worſt of Turns. The now Sir *Dudley North* was knighted in his Sheriffalty, and poſſibly for the ſake of his Family; for Sir *Peter Rich*, his Partner, who joyned with him in appointing the Jury that found my good Lord *Ruſſel* guilty, and brought him to Execution, was paſſed by till *James* II. came to the Crown, and judged him worthy of the Honour of Knighthood.

This King called immediately a Parliament, and thought he had by his Influence ſo pack'd one, that there were not thirty Members that would not do as they were bid. They gave him great Supplies of Mony, and were as ſevere againſt the Duke of *Monmouth*, as himſelf was by his Inſtruments, *Kirk* and *Jeoffreys*, againſt all in the *Weſt*, ſuppoſed to be of his Party; contrary to the Mercy of former Times, when the Suffering of a few attoned for the reſt. But when Popery came upon the Stage, this Parliament would not ſerve the turn; which cauſed the Adjourning and Proroguing of it from time to time, hoping in the Intervals to have moulded it to his purpoſe; but that not ſucceeding, at laſt he diſſolved it, and then betook himſelf to Popiſh Counſel, *Petre* the Jeſuit bing made one of his Council, and of his Cabal, not only contrary to Law, but alſo to the practice of moſt, if not all other Popiſh Princes. For tho the Jeſuits make it their Deſign to skrue themſelves ſo far into the Favour of Princes, as to become their Confeſſors, that having Opportunity of infuſing wicked Principles into them, and by knowing their Secrets, may have the greater Advantage of doing Miſchief; yet are ſeldom or never admitted Members of their Councils. The wiſe *Venetians* baniſhed them their Territories, for their pernicious Principles, until, in requital of the Pope's aſſiſting them in their Wars againſt the *Turks*, they were received into the City of *Venice*, *Anno* 1664. but are by the People, who hate them, very inviduouſly looked upon there. Nay, *Rome* is ſo jealous of their Immorality,(as may be preſumed)that they rarely admit of above two, or three at moſt,to be at one time of the Conſiſtory,the Pope's Council, which conſiſts of Seventy two Cardinals, when all are there, which is ſeldom, or never. Theſe

Theſe Men hurried this King into all Extravagances, and the higheſt Invaſion of the Rights and Liberties of the People that had ever been attempted. The Corrupting of our Mercenary Judges, to the making any thing Law he would have, for taking away the Lives of innocent Men at his pleaſure, and giving him the Diſpenſing Power: The ſetting up extrajudicially Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, to turn Men out of their Free-holds at their pleaſure; as at *Magdalen*-College in *Oxford*: The erecting Popiſh Schools, Chapels, Convents and Seminaries; all expreſly againſt Law: The Breach of his repeated Promiſes, and Coronation-Oath: Theſe, I ſay, were all but Trifles, compared to his perſonal Endeavours of overturning our Foundations, in going from Town to Town, to diſcourage thoſe Magiſtrates that would not engage to ſend ſuch Members to the Parliament, (he then intended,) as would repeal the Teſt and Penal Laws, and cajole thoſe that would: His turning out the Mayor and beſt of the Aldermen of *York*, and chuſing Papiſts in their room, had not the Commiſſion been defective as to the filling thoſe empty Places; ſo that that City was without a Mayor, till His preſent Majeſty reſtored them to their Rights: As alſo his Commiſſionating others, under the Name of Regulators, to reform (as they called it) other Corporations; and all to the End of having the Teſt removed, (the only Obſtacle,) that the Way might be open for an entire Popiſh Parliament, who would have been ſure, in twelve Months time, to have made new Laws againſt all Diſſenters from Popery, and have perſecuted them for the ſame with Fire and Fagot.

As to the propounding an Equivalent, or a new *Magna Charta* for eſtabliſhing Liberty of Conſcience, which ſhould be unalterable, that was ſo vain and idle, as could not expect Belief or Regard from any, ſave Men of little Wit or Proſpect; for it ever will be, as it ought to be, in the power of ſucceeding Parliaments, to repeal the Acts of former: And therefore, tho the King might promiſe he would not conſent, during his Time, to any Alteration, he could not promiſe ſo much for his Succeſſors; and farther, as to himſelf, his Steadineſs to his Engagement herein (after Breach of his Coronation-Oath, and re-iterated Promiſes of Ruling according to Law) might well be ſuſpected. Beſides, had he really intended to make good his Promiſe, the Church of *Rome* (which, by his own Principles, is his Superiour)

would

would have forbid it: And he that is not ignorant of their murthering Doctrin and Practices, in caſe of Diſobedience, durſt not have diſobeyed, for fear of a Doſe, or a Fig. So that it is no leſs to be admired that the Papiſts ſhould make ſuch ridiculous Propoſitions to a knowing Proteſtant People, as that there ſhould be found any among them who would give heed to the leaſt thing of this nature, coming from their implacable Enemies. There were in a few Days two Proclamations of Pardon publiſhed, the latter excepting ſome that had been pardoned by the former, when the Parties being beyond the Sea, could not be guilty of new Tranſgreſſions, not hearing of the one before the other, the diſtance of Time being too little; and, as it is ſaid, one or both was not ſealed, deſignedly neglected by *Jeoffreys*, that Engine of Cruelty, and Monſter of Impudence. Nay, it is ſaid, that the King, upon hearing of the Prince of *Orange*'s Expedition for *England*, ordered the Reſtoration of the Fellows of *Magdalen*-College in *Oxford*; and upon the News of his Diſaſter at Sea, gave preſently contrary Order. All which is a clear Demonſtration of his Principles, and how little his Promiſes or Pardons are to be relied upon.

The Arts and Tricks his Predeceſſors had made uſe of, for Oppreſſion and Injuſtice, (as by *Innuendo's*, *&c.*) to take away the Lives and Eſtates of honeſt Men, were by his blood-thirſty Inſtruments illegally improved; as the Deaths of Alderman *Corniſh*, and Mr. *Charles Bateman*, and the barbarous and inhumane Proceedings againſt Dr. *Oates*, do ſufficiently evince; he having been, without Preſident, ſo cruelly and unmercifully uſed, as may charitably be concluded, was intended by that way to have murthered him, becauſe they could not have the leaſt Colour of Law for doing it otherwiſe; and that he out-lived the Barbarity of it, he hath reaſon to acknowledge a Miracle of Mercy from God, and for it walk thankfully before him all the Days of his Life. But beſides this, this whole Reign was no leſs than Violence and Cruelty, as appears by excepting about One hundred and eighty Perſons by Name, out of his Pardon, upon the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Invaſion; and by Qualifications, ſcarce any that were not profeſſed Papiſts, or as bad, were left unqueſtionable; eſpecially if ever they had croſſed the Seas, by that Exception of all Treaſons beyond the Seas. Some of thoſe excepted were Girls at School, from ſeven, to ten Years of Age, for giving Ribbonds

to a few of the Duke's Soldiers; and they, with the reſt, were, by Order from the King and Council, proſecuted for Rebels, by the King's Envoys Extraordinary with the States General, upon pretence of their Articles of Peace. To that End, ſuppoſing them all to be fled into their Countries, and the Faith of the Nation being engaged for the truth of it by the Envoys Averment thereof, the States not thinking it decent to queſtion the Validity of the Accuſation, gave Sentence of Baniſhment, upon pain of Death, againſt the whole Number, (ſave two or three that had bought their Pardons, the Children being included,) that ſhould come into their Territories: Yet had all that was in any of the Countries under their Dominions been brought to a Trial; it was but a few which had been with the Duke of *Monmouth* that could have been found guilty of Rebellion, according to the Proceſs; however, could they by this Means have got them all ſent home, they would there, right or wrong, have been murthered, as was Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*. But the Injuſtice of this ought to reflect only upon the King's evil Council, for the Violation of the Faith of the Nation with a Foreign State, (which ought to be ſacred;) and not upon the States for giving Credit to the Information, which, according to the Rules of Nations, ought to have been authentick; and being falſe, it was highly injurious to the States, of which, had they known, they might well have complained: But the King, for the Immorality of it, *&c.* hath received his Reward, (tho the reſt eſcape,) in a juſt Abdication; and we the Benefit, by an happy Exchange for the better: The Lord grant we may not ſin away our Mercies.

After twenty eight Years induſtrious Endeavours to debauch the Nation by wicked, profane and Atheiſtical Examples, which prevail more with corrupt Nature than Precepts, this King, who by adding of Papiſts in all Employments, having brought the Judges, Gariſons, Sheriffs and Juſtices of the Peace throughout all the Nation to his devotion, and got a ſtanding Army of Six and thirty thouſand Horſe and Foot, every way well accommodated, wanting nothing in the Eye of Reaſon, we were left without the leaſt hopes of Recovery, the help of Man ſeeming to be in vain; but then, when he ſaid in his Heart, All was his own, and none ſhould control him, it pleaſed God in his Providence, for the Good of his People, to infatuate him, in ſetting up a ſuppoſititious Prince of *Wales*, to diſ-inherit his own Children, and

the

the Heirs to the Crown; which when nothing elſe in humane Proſpect could have done it, this opened the Eyes of all ſober Proteſtants, to the ſeeing his Deſign of leaving us and our Poſterity under Popiſh Idolatry and Thraldom; from whence aroſe an Agreement for forcing him to rule according to Law, as he was by Oath obliged; which cauſing him to abdicate the Government, in running away, and applying himſelf to the great Tyrant of the Earth for Help, gave the People the Opportunity of aſſerting their natural Right, in providing for their own Security, by chuſing King *William* and Queen *Mary* for their rightful and legal Sovereigns, whom the Lord in Mercy bleſs with a long and proſperous Reign over us; and whilſt we give due Honour to the Inſtruments, let us not forget aſcribing the Praiſe and Glory due to Almighty God, as the Author and Principal of our Deliverance, and have always in a thankful Remembrance this, and all other his ſaving Providences towards this poor Nation, through ſeveral Reigns and Ages.

Whilſt the Church of *England* was under Perſecution in the Perſons of the Biſhops, the Preſident of *Magdalen*-College in *Cambridge*, and the Preſident and Fellows of *Magdalen*-College in *Oxford*, they were full of Compaſſion and Brotherly Kindneſs towards Diſſenters, and ready to joyn with them for Redreſs of Grievances, by the help of the Prince of *Orange*, now King of *England*, *&c.* but were no ſooner freed from their Fears of being ſuperceded by Prieſts and Jeſuits, than headed by ſome who ſtood in need of a Party to render them conſiderable, that thereby they might blot out the Remembrance of former Crimes; than they forgot former Profeſſions of Moderation, and the Afflictions of their Brethren; and to that degree, that they caballed for increaſing their Burthens, and monopolizing all Employments to themſelves, by continuing the Sacramental Teſt, though to the fatal detriment of the Kingdom; for had not that Bar for truſting Diſſenters been in the way, *Ireland* (in the Opinion of thoſe that beſt know that Country) might e'er this have been reduced, to the ſaving moſt of the Blood and Treaſure that hath been ſpent upon it; and I fear, the Blood ſo needleſly ſpilt will lie at their Doors that were the Authors of it.

It was the Diſſenters that ſaved *London-Derry*, and in that preſerved *Ireland*; for tho by the Artifice of ſome eminent Conformiſts, the Honour was aſcribed to Mr. *Walker* and his Party, (for

which he got a Reward he did not deſerve,) it appears by the Narrative of that Siege, writ by Mr. *Mackenzy*, Chaplain to a Regiment during the Siege, and writ with that Candour and Faithfulneſs as carries its Teſtimony with it, the Applauſe and Reward belonged to the Diſſenters; for even the Anſwer to this Book, in behalf of Mr. *Walker*, doth no way detect, but rather gives it Credit: But Mr. *Walker* being dead, I ſhall forbear all farther Reflections upon him, he having been a good-natured Man, and what he did amiſs being from the influence of others: He confeſſed there were four Nonconformiſts in the Town for one Conformiſt; and ſome ſay, eight for one; but the Authority being in the Church-men, who were timerous, if not worſe, you will find by Mr. *Mackenzey*'s Relation, that it was the *Mobile*, who were Diſſenters, that ſaved the Place, againſt the Will of the reſt.

Now I ſuppoſe I may be cenſured, as being diſcontented for want of Employment, as not being able to qualifie my ſelf. To which I anſwer, That thoſe that know me, know I never ſought any Employment; and if I had, I have a Latitude to qualifie my ſelf: So that I may truly affirm, that what I here write, proceeds purely from Affection to my Country, and the Cauſe of God.

The Town of *London-Derry* was at laſt relieved, and as is ſaid, might have been ſix Weeks ſooner, with leſs difficulty, and the ſaving of four or five thouſand Lives, which in that time died of Famine. After the Relief of it, Collonel *Murrey* and thirteen Troops of Horſe, who had done the greateſt Service in defending of the Town, were reduced, and greatly ſuſpected, for no other Reaſon than becauſe Diſſenters, and free from Debauchery; tho we may obſerve, that after Relief of the Town, little of moment was done, till His Majeſty's happy Arrival, ſave what was done by thoſe called *Inniskilling*-men, who tho not all Diſſenters, are much of their Judgment, Friends to them, and joyned with them; which one would think, might have recommended the reſt of that ſort to Employment in theſe difficult Times.

I do not aim herein at reflecting upon the Conformiſts in general, for it muſt be confeſſed that there are many ſober, vertuous and religious Perſons of that Judgment, as *London* hath experienced, in being, contrary to what was deſigned by others, pro-

providentially preſerved by them, as appears by the Oppoſition the preſent worthy and moſt deſerving Lord Mayor hath met with from thoſe that were *Hectors* for delivering up of Charters, and joyning with *Jeffreys*, *&c.* in all Arbitrary and Tyrannical Ways; and for no other Reaſon that we know, than for his being, next under God, and Her Majeſty, by his wiſe Conduct in the Abſence of the King, the Preſerver of this City and Nation in Peace and Safety; for his Oppoſers were no ſooner delivered by the Act of *G*race from fear of Puniſhment for former Crimes, than they returned with the Dog to his Vomit, and with the Swine to the wallowing in the Mire of their corrupt Principles; inſomuch, that I think one may, without breach of Charity, ſay, That there is none, who are not guilty of great ignorance, that is for turning out the preſent Lord Mayor, but ſuch as would, if they could, turn out the King.

But I would not be underſtood in this, to complain of any, ſave the Bigots of the Church, ſuch as will not allow of any to be of their number; who have Charity for thoſe that are not of their Communion, and have not the ſame Latitude in all Immorality, as they have even to the taking away the Lives and Eſtates of innocent Men, that are not of their minds, by falſe Verdicts, when it ſhall be in their power; and that they may reach their own Members, that exceed them in Vertue and Sobriety, they nickname them with the Name of Commonwealths Men; for ſince, they cannot call them Drunkards, Swearers nor Whoremaſters, they will call them ſomething, to render them, as they think, odious to the People; and tho they have reaſon to know, that from the experience, the People have had, of their Integrity and Uprightneſs they are not be cozened by injurious Names; yet from *Machivel*'s Rule, That by calumniating boldly, ſomething will ſtick, they continue their Reproach, tho contrary to ſenſe or reaſon. Every Engliſhman, that is not Knave or Fool, being as much a Commonwealths Man, as thoſe they mean, who are no more for a Republick, than *Magna Charta* makes them.

But it hath had this effect, to hinder the moſt uſeful Men from ſerving their King and Country, to the great damage of both, if it prove not their deſtruction; in keeping up the way for advancing Folly, Ignorance and Knavery, by a bare reſtraining the choice of Officers to one Party, which, if continued,

muſt

muſt undo this Kingdom. And for preventing the ſame, it were to be wiſhed, that as in a great meaſure, the Bigots of the Church have had the Conduct of Affairs this two years, with ill ſucceſs; that the moderate Men of all ſides might be tryed, whether Affairs will proſper better in their hands: By moderate Men, I mean thoſe of both Judgments; that are free from groſs and open Scandal, which are the perſons upon whoſe endeavours, we may moſt reaſonably expect a Bleſſing from God; for from the contrary qualifications, it is not to be hoped. And therefore, till Men of Religious, or at leaſt, Moral Principles, who ſhall ſerve their King and Country, not from ſelf-ends, but from a true zeal for Civil as well as Religious Liberty, be imployed, (as ſuch are to be had) it cannot be expected that *England* ſhould proſper; for common Swearers, Drunkards, Whore-maſters, who impudently carry their Whores into the Field and to Sea, to corrupt, by their Examples, the People; nor thoſe for King *William*, as King *de facto* only, will ever do the Work. And the Bigots of the Church cannot with ſo much reaſon, call thoſe of their own Communion, Diſſenters; becauſe they have Chriſtian Charity for Non-Conformiſts, as they themſelves may be called of the Church of *Rome*, for declaring they had rather be Papiſts than Presbyterians, as many of them do; when their difference with the Papiſts, is upon fundamentals, which concerns their Salvation; and with the Presbyterians, by their own Confeſſion, but about things indifferent, which ought not to be impoſed, according to that Scripture; *For it ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and to us, to lay upon you no greater burthens than theſe neceſſary things*, Acts 15. ver. 28.

And farther, to inforce this Argument, (which I know will be little regarded by Church-Bigots and Formaliſts) it is to be obſerved, that it was, until the King's Arrival in *Ireland*, thoſe of Religious Principles, there, as alſo in *Scotland* and *Piemont*, that hath done any thing of moment; and it is not without ſtrong ſuſpicion, that thoſe two excellent Gentlemen, Lieutenant Col. *Cleland* and Major *Henderſon* was deſerted, who to ſave the Life of their Country, loſt their own; and that the relieving of *Londonderry* in *Ireland*, was delayed, both in deſign to reduce thoſe over-ſober Men, as of too vertuous Examples for thoſe Times: And as to *Savoy*, that Duke whoſe Family hath from all Antiquity been great Perſecutors, is now come totally off from that

Helliſh

Helliſt and Deviliſh Principle, in uſurping the Prerogative of God, who only hath dominion over the Conſcience, and is willing to receive the Aſſiſtance of his reformed Subjects without debarring them by a Sacramental Teſt, the benefit of which he hath already ſufficiently experienced. And to this may be added, the Example of *Spain*, as a warning to all of undepraved ſenſe, to avoid Perſecution upon account of Religion; for that Country when under Paganiſm, Mahometiſm, with a mixture of Jewdaiſm, was populous, rich and flouriſhing, beyond all or moſt Countries, is now under Chriſtianity, by Perſecution become diſpeopled, beggerly and of little account, compared to others formerly of no conſideration to them. And it may be foretold, that our great Neighbour, who by Liberty in Religion firſt raiſed himſelf to that height he is now arrived at, ſhall by his late contrary actings, loſe his Grandure, have all his Honour laid in the duſt, and brought as low as he is now great.

I think no ſober perſon, but will after the peruſal hereof, own our two laſt Reigns to have been cruel, unjuſt and oppreſſive to the laſt degree; and that ſuch Guilt could not be contracted, by our Kings, without Inſtruments imployed by them, who by Law are anſwerable for miſcarriages in Government: And as Oppreſſion is a crying Sin, that pulls down Gods Judgments upon a People, if not repented and reformed; ſo there is a Duty incumbent upon us, to anſwer the Rebukes we have lately met with from God in our Affairs, by a ſpeedy and thorough Reformation, not deferring it till times of Peace; the want of Reformation being generally the occaſion of War: And God ſeems to call for it, by the little uſe he hath made of our Immoraliſts, either at Sea or Land, other than as a ſcourge for our Sins. His Majeſty hath a great Reputation for a profeſſed Enemy to Swearing, Drinking and Cheating, &c. And if thoſe, whoſe Calling makes it their Duty to promote Reformation, be the Obſtructers of it, Flattery, which never proceeds from a ſincere Heart, will not defend them againſt the Almighty; to whom I leave them, with putting them in mind, that an Inſtance might be given of a Reformation that was made in the height of a War, which never had ſucceſs till then.

The way to appeaſe God's Wrath, is to inquire after Men of debauched Lives, and avoid them; after the Authors and Abettors of our former Grievances, cauſe Reſtitution to be made to ſufferers

ſufferers, by thoſe that did the Wrong; and to diſable, for the future, all Offenders therein from bearing any Office, either in Church or State, in whom doth not appear, a true change in practice, and eſpouſing honeſt Principles, to the end, they may have no more opportunity for acting their Miſchiefs over again.

The Lord ſeems to have done his part in puniſhing the Principal, leaving the Inſtruments to us; for it may be reaſonably thought, that had it not been for evil Counſellors, our Kings could not alone have projected or endeavoured the ruin of our Nation by introducing Popery and Slavery, as was without contradiction intended.

By what goes before, together with what may be farther obſerved, it will appear, that the Preſervation of our Rights and Liberties hath to a miracle, been ſolely from the Providence of God, *viz.*

1. That the late King *James*, in favour of Popery, ſhould ſet up a ſuppoſititious Prince of *Wales* to diſinherit his own Children, and all the Heirs of the Crown; whereby he alienated the Hearts of the People, when nothing leſs could have done it, was a great Providence.

2. The King (when Prince of *Orange*) his diſaſter at Sea, upon his firſt ſetting ſail, cauſing the late King *James*'s recalling his Order, for reſtoring the Fellows of *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*, was a Providence, in that he thereby convinced the People, that there was no relying upon his Promiſes, which before they were ready to do.

3. That when the Prince was deſigned for the North, he ſhould change his Courſe, for the Weſt, where the Wind and Weather was miraculouſly ſerviceable to him, was a ſaving Providence.

4. That the late King *James*'s Naval Fleet which might with eaſe have deſtroyed the Fly-Boats, which tranſported the Prince's Army, and did not do it, was a ſignal Providence.

5. That the late King *James* deſerted his Army at *Salisbury*, when half of it was more than ſufficient, to have fought the Prince, was a Providence not to be forgot.

6. That the late King *James* abdicated the Government, when otherwiſe, we muſt have been all in Blood, ſome of the chief of the City ſhewing ſo much fondneſs of him, that with ſpeed they

they with Tears for Joy, congratulated his Return after his firſt leaving of the Town, was a Mercy.

7. That *London-Derry*, a little inſignificant place without regular Fortifications, ſhould with ſo much Miſery and Hardſhip defend themſelves; and in that, preſerve *Ireland* againſt the late King, who was ſaid to have 60000 Men in Arms, and to loſe 8000 before it; and this done by the *Mobile*, headed by ſome honeſt Officers againſt the good Will of thoſe in Authority, was a Providence, which in after Ages will hardly be believed.

8. That the *French* had ſurprized us, whilſt at anchor, had not the Wind providentially turned to our preſervation, was a Mercy that ought not to be forgot.

9. That the *French* ſhould not underſtand the advantage *Torrington* gave them at Sea, in retreating before them; and that they ſhould neglect the opportunity of intercepting, at the Mouth of the Channel, our ſeveral Fleets of Merchants Ships, then expected from ſeveral Parts of the World, and no care taken by us for their Preſervation, was an unexpreſſible Providence. For if thoſe Fleets had miſcarried, the trading Party of the Nation had, in a great meaſure, been ruined: So that upon the whole, we may ſay, we have been preſerved by the Providence of God, againſt our own Wills, whether we will or no. But this miraculous Deliverance gives us no Warrant to rely upon Miracles for our Preſervation, but is a Caution to us for the future, to be careful in the choice of Officers of Truſt.

I know it is ordinarily pleaded, in the behalf of Favourites to Princes, That the Complaints againſt them are from Envy, and not Juſtice; but in contradiction to that, it may be anſwered, that the Counſellors to good Queen *Elizabeth*, were, for ought we find, free from all Complaints by the People in Parliament. Nay, *Leſter*, who had much of the Queens Ear, being an ill Man, or none of the beſt, could not influence her in what was not good; nor prevent her Reproofs, when guilty of Miſcarriages, which obviated Parliaments Complaints. And I think, it may be relyed upon, that the Commons in Parliament will never complain of any, who ſeek not themſelves, but the good and true Intereſt of King and Country. And as the ways for Kings to gain Love and Honour, and be in Safety, is to make the Law their Rule, and not as the two laſt Kings, without regard to

their Coronation Oath, ſetting all Law aſide, and acting Arbitrarily; as in their pricking of Sheriffs for the Counties, not out of thoſe preſented to them, as the Law directs, but taking them at large, as they pleaſe or corrupt Intereſt directs. For to govern well, (which is a Security beyond Arms, Oaths or all the tricks of ill Men and Favourites) ſo it is the Intereſt of Favorites, tho they ſeldom believe it, to make publick Intereſt equal (if not ſuperior) to their own private; for we do not find, the Families raiſed formerly, by evil Counſel given to their Princes, to have been of long continuance.

Our Diviſions at preſent are deplorable, and far be it from me to deſire the widening of them; but they may be ſaid to ariſe from Selfiſhneſs in the Clergy, and ſome Criminals, who joyned with them, to make a Party for their own particular Intereſt and Preſervation, againſt the true Intereſt and Senſe of vertuous and honeſt Men; ſo that in this diſtracted condition we are divided into thoſe for the preſent King, and thoſe for the Abdicated King; theſe latter being irreconcilable to all that are not of their Opinion, and the former ſubdivided into thoſe that are profeſſedly for King *William*, as King *de Jure*, and thoſe for him only as King *de Facto*; whereby the latter making the King no better than an Uſurper, muſt themſelves be little leſs than *Jacobites*, whoſe Actings gives us cauſe to have ſad Thoughts of Heart, in ſeeing ſome of the late ways or proceedings put in practice with improvement.

I do not remember, any formerly taken up and impriſoned, without pretended Proof of ſome Crime againſt them, or at leaſt of pretended great Suſpicion; but of late, we had Perſons freeſt from ſuſpect, firſt ſeized, and then their Studies and Writings ſearched, to get matter to juſtifie the Seizure; which leaves all Men unſafe, as well in reference to their Eſtates (from the danger their Writings are thereby in) as in reference to their Liberty. And herein they ſhewed their Spleen againſt ſuch as are for the preſent King, as King *de Jure*; for of any other Crime, one lately impriſoned, could not be ſuſpected, having expreſſed himſelf, ſufficiently in Print, againſt a Commonwealth, a Notion out of hatred to Liberty (our natural Right) lately ſtarted, to render all thoſe obnoxious, that are for Common Freedom. Our ancient Government, according to Law, knowing, that in a corrupt and factious Age, the honeſteſt things may be

be blaſted by miſapplying of Names; as in calling Evil, Good; and Good, Evil; Diſloyalty, Loyalty; and Loyalty, Diſloyalty, &c. And this, whilſt *de Facto* Men can hardly (in ſome Mens Opinion) offend in any thing they do or ſay. But his Majeſty, being now through Mercy, returned in Health and Safety from *Ireland*, we hope, that Men ſincerely honeſt, real and faithful to him, without reſerve, in reference to any Pretender, will be as well in Security, as Enemies, or thoſe that are no farther for his Intereſt, than may render them meritorious. Should the Abdicated King return, from which good Lord deliver us, and from all ſuch, whoſe Deſign is to juſtifie the two laſt Reigns, by diſowning any Fault in them (ſave the endeavour of introducing of Popery, of which they make the King ſoly guilty) that by his Inſtruments and ſuch like, they may the more plauſibly play the ſame Game over again.

As there is no perfection in this World, ſo there is nothing good, but as it is compared with worſe. The Reign of good Queen *Eliz.* who was a true Lover of her People and Country, may perhaps be liable to ſome exceptions; but being a Reign of glorious Actions, of impartial Juſtice, not murthering and otherwiſe undoing innocent Men by corrupt Juries, Judges and ſuborned Witneſſes; ſo free from tricks for plundering the Subjects Purſes to ſpend viciouſly and profuſely, to make a Party for Arbitrary Government, that when Mony hath been given her for certain Occaſions, the Cauſe being taken away, ſhe returned the Mony to her Subjects. This Reign, I ſay, compared to the four ſucceeding Reigns, chargeable with all that is contrary to theſe Excellencies, may comparatively be reckoned perfect.

The Counſellors and Favorites of this great Queen may have had ſome Errors in Politicks, tho unknown to me; yet having made the end of all their Counſels, the Honour, Proſperity, Safety and joynt Intereſt of the Queen and Country without ſeparating them; I ſay, thoſe Counſellors and Favorites compared with thoſe of the four laſt Reigns, whoſe Counſels and Actions have been diametrically oppoſite to theirs, may comparatively be ſaid to have been unblameable.

Tho the Church, in good Queen *Elizabeths* Time, never wanted ſome of perſecuting Spirits, yet thoſe being over-ballanced by the Piety and Zeal of ſome of the then Guides of the Church, not incouraging the Profanation of the Lord's Day, nor diſ-

couraging Preaching twice upon that Day, nor yet putting down Weekly or Monthly Lectures. Tho that Reign may be ſaid, not to have been totally free from profligate and ill People; the generality was ſober and vertuous, compared to the ſucceeding Reigns, eſpecially the two laſt, ſo overrun with Debauchery and all manner of Profaneſs.

And now, being freed from the Grievances of the four laſt Reigns, it might be expected, that all ſhould hate the remembrance of thoſe Times, and never more hanker after the like; the doing of which cannot proceed from any thing leſs, than in ſome, a depraved, ſlaviſh Nature, delighting in the Barbarity of the *Eaſtern* Countries: In ſome well meaning honeſt Men, from Ignorance, not underſtanding their true Intereſt; in others, from a hatred to common Freedom, being content to be tyrannized over by their Superiors, ſo they may but do the ſame over their Inferiors: And in others, who underſtand the true Intereſt of the Nation, from preferring an Opportunity of cozening, cheating and advancing themſelves to Honours and Dignities to all other Conſiderations whatever. And from hence, together with Selfiſhneſs and want of Integrity in ſome, profeſſing Honeſty, thereby deceiving the weak and credulous, whilſt they purſue their own Intereſt without regard to the Publick, proceeds the Miſery of Mankind.

I take no pleaſure in remembring the Vices and Enormities of our Country, but am greatly troubled to hear of the horrid Debauchery, that is amongſt us; and to obſerve, how this Nation is degenerated from a Land formerly famous for Piety, to that, of all manner of Profaneſs, againſt which, I have thought it my Duty, thus to bear my Teſtimony.

The Information of Thomas Samſon, *Gent. taken upon Oath before Sir* Thomas Alleyn, *Kt. and Bt. one of His Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for the City of* London, *this 24th Day of* November, Anno 1681. *at Seven of the Clock in the Morning.*

Who ſaith,

THAT *John Mac-Namarra* told this Deponent, that *Edward Ivy* and *Bryan Haynes* agreed together, in *April* laſt, to ſwear Treaſon againſt the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; and the Bill being

ing found againſt the ſaid Earl, that they, with *John Smith* and *Turberfeild*, did intend to ſwear Treaſon againſt Sir *Patient Ward*, Sir *Robert Clayton*, Sir *Thomas Player*, Sheriff *Bethel*, Col. *Mildmay*, and all others as ſhould come in as Witneſſes againſt their Deſigns, or in the behalf of the aboveſaid Gentlemen. The Treaſon which they deſigned to ſwear againſt the ſaid Earl was, "That the Earl ſhould ſay, that our King deſerved to be de-"throned more than *Richard* II. and that the ſaid Earl would "dethrone the King, and make *England* a Commonwealth.

This Deponent farther ſaith, That the ſaid *Mac-Namarra* told this Deponent the 28th of *July* laſt, that *Edward Ivy* had often Conference with Mrs. *Cellier*, and the Popiſh Prieſts in *Newgate*, and had received Mony to ſham the Popiſh Plot, and to ſwear to a Proteſtant one.

This Deponent farther ſaith, That the ſaid *Mac-Namarra*, two Days before he went to *Oxford*, to *Colledge*'s Trial, told this Deponent, that he knew the Deſign againſt the Proteſtants, and that he would ſay ſomething againſt them, to pleaſe Juſtice *Walcop*, to get ſome Mony: But he, *God damn him*, if he knew of any Treaſons by any Proteſtants, or knew of any Plot but the Popiſh Plot, or if he ever would ſwear to any ſuch thing: And at the ſaid *Mac-Namarra*'s Return from *Oxford*, he ſwore the ſame to this Deponent, in the preſence of others.

This Deponent farther ſaith, That the ſaid *Mac-Namarra* told this Deponent, that he the ſaid *Mac-Namarra* had been often with the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, with *Haynes* and *Ivy*; but this Deponent telling him that the ſaid Earl never diſcourſed any alone, the ſaid *Mac-Namarra* told this Deponent, that the Occaſion of their ſpeaking with him was, for that they diſcovered to him the ſaid Earl, ſome Perſons that intended to murther him; *Mac-Namarra* ſaying, that himſelf and *Ivy* took diſtaſte for that the Earl would not diſcourſe them alone; in as much as *Ivy* therefore contrived to ſwear High Treaſon againſt the ſaid Earl.

This Deponent farther ſaith, That Mr. *Turberfeild* told this Deponent, at the Sign of the *Cock*, by the *Pall-Mall*, two or three Days before *Colledge*'s Trial, of this Deſign againſt Proteſtants, but, with ſolemn Proteſtations, ſwore that he knew nothing of any Treaſons againſt the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Lord *Howard*, or any Proteſtants; only of *Colledge*'s idle Words, and of *Rowſe*'s keeping the Charity of the City from the Evidences.

This

This Deponent farther ſaith, That on the 23d of *September* laſt, *John Smith*, *Stephen Dugdale* and *Turberfeild* ſent for this Deponent, to the *Three-Tun*-Tavern in *Hungerford*-Market, and there drinking, the ſaid *Smith* began the Duke of *York*'s Health: He ſwore, *God damn him*, he drank his Health becauſe he was a Papiſt, and therefore he loved him.

This Deponent farther ſaith, That the Mony which was gathered in the City, for the Maintenance of the Evidence, was gathered on their Petition to the Common Hall, and by the Evidences ſpecial Inſtance to the Lord *Shaftsbury*, and others, to interceed for them to the City, it being directed to the City, by the Houſe of Commons, to take care of them, until the Parliament ſate again, and procured a Maintenance for them.

This Deponent farther ſaith, That the Anſwer which *John Mac-Namarra* made, on Oath, to the Grand Jury, at *Rowſe*'s Trial, *viz.* being queſtioned how he was maintained? Who anſwered, that he then rented 100 *l. per Annum* in *Ireland*, was falſe.

And *Edward Ivy* at the ſame time ſaying on his Oath, that he came not over to *England* to diſcover the Popiſh Plot, was alſo falſe; for that he had 20 *l.* allowed him by the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* for the ſame. And whereas the ſaid *Ivy* then ſwore, that What Information he made, touching the Popiſh Plot, was dictated to him by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and that a Reward for the Swearing of it was promiſed by *Rowſe*, was alſo falſe; for that this Deponent ſaw the Information in the ſaid *Ivy*'s Hands before he knew, as he ſaid, the ſaid Earl, or *Rowſe*, and the Day after he came to Town.

This Deponent farther ſaith, That himſelf, with others, have heard *Dennis Mac-Namarra* ſay, that he would ſwear any thing that his Brother *John* would have him to ſwear.

And this Deponent farther ſaith, That the Earl of *Shaftsbury* adviſed this Deponent, *Mac-Namarra* and *Ivy*, not to go to *Oxford*, until the Parliament ſent for them to give their Evidence touching the Popiſh Plot; and, on our Requeſt, the ſaid Earl promiſed that he would move for Mony to bear our Charges thither, and to ſupply our great Neceſſities.

This Deponent farther ſaith, That Juſtice *Walcop* often ſollicited him, with Promiſes of Reward, to be an Evidence againſt the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and others of the City; and that *John Mac-Namarra* told this Deponent, that the ſaid Juſtice *Walcop* did the ſame with him.

This

This Deponent farther ſaith, That he hath not, to his Knowledge, received any Mony of the City, or borrowed any, to the value of Five Pounds, ſince the Parliament at *Oxford*, or had any Reward for making this Affidavit; but hath done it to ſatisfie his Conſcience, and to prevent any that ſhould ſwear falſly againſt himſelf, or others: And farther ſaith, that he is no Petitioner to the City. To all which this Deponent ſwears particularly, the preciſe Days only excepted.

Tho. Samſon.

The Information of William Shewen, Jun. *of the Pariſh of St.* Mary Magdalen Bermonſey, *in the County of* Surrey, *aged Twenty Years, or thereabonts, as followeth.*

THIS Informant maketh Oath, That on *Thurſday*, the 9th Day of this Inſtant Month of *Auguſt*, 1681. he being accidentally in the Company of Mr. *John Mac-Namarra*, Mr. *Peacock*, (whom they called Alderman of *Durham*,) and Mrs. *Tereſia Peacock*, his Daughter, (who was *Fitz-Harris*'s Maid,) Mr. *Everard*, Mr. *Moubrey*, and others, at *Godfrey*'s Muſick-houſe, in *Lamb's-Conduit-Fields*, in the County of *Middleſex*, and they occaſionally falling into Diſcourſe concerning Mr. *Mac-Namarra*'s marrying Mrs. *Peacock*, the aforeſaid *Mac-namarra* told this Informant, that his Reaſon for marrying her was, that he might get a new Race of Evidences, againſt the Old ſhould fail.

And this Informant farther ſaith, That the aforeſaid Perſons then diſcourſing together concerning Mrs. *Peacock*'s Marriage-Portion, Mr. *Peacock*, Father of the ſaid *Tereſia Peacock*, clapping her on the Back, ſaid, *Girl, I am the chiefeſt Evidence, and thou the ſecond; and there will be* 100 l. *apiece for us to ſwear home at* Oxford, (having been diſcourſing before concerning *Colledge*,) *and thou ſhalt have them both, and I will ſettle* 100 l. *a Year more on thee.* To which Mr. *Mac-Namarra*, Mr. *Roger Godfrey*, and Mr. *William Godfrey* (upon this Informant's asking them, if Mr. *Peacock* was a Man of an Eſtate) anſwered, that he rather ſtayed in Town to get part of his Daughter's Mony, than to give her any thing.

And this Informant farther ſaith, That Mr. *Turberfeild* and Mr. *Mac-Namarra* then told this Informant, that they had Penſions,

ſions, as well as *Oates*; and ſaid, that was no ſign of ſmall Reſpect to their Evidence; and that they received them at Sir *Lyoline Jenkins*'s Houſe. And this Informant farther ſaith, that he had ſeveral times ſeen them go into the Secretary's Houſe, and once ſaw *Haynes* coming thence. And farther this Informant ſaith, that on the 10th Day of this Inſtant *Auguſt*, the ſaid *Mac-namarra* coming to this Informant's Lodgings, at the *Golden Poſts* at *Charing-Croſs*, this Informant enquired of *Mac-Namarra* wherefore he went ſo often to Sir *Lioline Jenkins*'s Houſe? Upon which, *Mac-namarra* put his Hand to his Pocket, and ſhaked his Mony, making no other Anſwer.

And this Informant farther ſaith, That afterwards, *viz.* on *Thurſday*, the 11th of *Auguſt*, he being in the Company of Mr. *Everard*, *Turberfeild*, *John Mac-Namarra*, *John Smith*, Mr. *Haynes*, and Captain *Barry*, at the Houſe of the aforeſaid *Roger Godfrey*, at the *Golden Poſts* at *Charing-Croſs*; the ſaid Perſons diſcourſing concerning their going for *Oxford*, about *Colledge*'s Trial, this Informant asking them what they thought of *Colledge*, they generally anſwered, that they queſtioned not but they ſhould get him hanged.

And this Informant farther ſaith, That then and there the Company falling into Diſcourſe of *Slingsby Bethel*, Eſq; one of the preſent Sheriffs of the City of *London*, Mr. *Mac-Namarra* and Mr. *Turberfeild* proffered to lay Wagers, Ten to One, that Sheriff *Bethel* ſhould be hanged before *Chriſtmaſs* next: *But*, ſaid *Turberfeild*, *we have little againſt him as yet.* To which *Mac-Namarra* replied, *What of all that? We have time enough either to get or make more.* The like Wager, at the ſame time, they proffered to lay concerning Mr. *Wilmore*, the Fore-Man of the late Grand Jury, and ſeveral others of that Jury, whoſe Names they then mentioned, but their Names this Informant remembreth not. The like Wager they offered to lay againſt one Mr. *Beſt*, an Hop-Merchant, in *Thames-Street*, of whom *Turberfeild* ſaid, he had received ſome Guinea's; and that he would go thither again, and ſee if he could get more; and if he would not give him any, he would ſwear that againſt him that ſhould make his Heart ake.

And this Informant farther ſaith, That Captain *Barry* did frequently call Mr. *John Smith* Name-ſake; and this Informant enquiring of Mr. *Mac-Namarra* wherefore *Barry* called *Smith* Name-ſake, he anſwered this Informant, that *Smith* was an *Iriſh*-man, born in *Connaught*, and that his right Name was *Barry*.

And

And this Informant farther ſaith, That then *Turberfeild*, *Haynes* and *Mac-Namarra* ſaid, they would take ſeveral others of the *Iriſh* Evidence along with them to the *Amſterdam*-Coffee-houſe on *Tueſday* come Seven-night next, and there pick a Quarrel among themſelves; and in the heat of their Quarrel they would take Sheriff *Bethel* by his Chain, and lead him from thence, to *Bow*-Church: And *Turberfeild* asked the Queſtion, whether it would not do well to kick him at parting?

And this Informant farther ſaith, That on the aforeſaid 11th of *Auguſt*, *Turberfeild* ſaid, they had Bands and Cloaks; by which diſtinguiſhing of themſelves, they ſaid, they could diſcover factious People, they taking them for ſome of their own Mould. And *Turberfeild*, ſoon after this Diſcourſe, left the Company, and in about half an Hour returned, dreſſed up like a Presbyterian Miniſter.

And this Informant farther ſaith, That on the ſame 11th Day of *Auguſt*, and place laſt mentioned, Mr. *Smith*, *alias Barry*, asked Mr. *Mac-Namarra* where he was ſo long in the Morning, that he could not find him? To which Mr. *Mac-Namarra* anſwered, He had been with Sir *Lioline Jenkins*. *I'll warrant you*, replied *Smith*, *you have had a long Leſſon, you ſtayed ſo long*. *Mac-Namarra* anſwered him, *As long as it was, I have learn'd it*. And then they entred into a private Diſcourſe.

This Informant alſo ſaith, That they uſually ſpent high at Dinner, 10*s*. each Man being their common Ordinary. They alſo commended their Trade to me, and told me, that if I would come to *Oxford*, I ſhould hear how they would ſwinge the Fanaticks: And they ſaid farther, that they would procure me a Place to hear the Trial; and that they were aſſured, that tho the Grand Jury of *London* ſhould come down to confront them, they ſhould not be admitted.

And this Informant farther ſaith, That Mr. *John Smith* then ſaid, that if he had but Knowledge of Mr. *Jenks* the Draper, as *Macnamarra* had, that he would not fail to ſwear that againſt him, which ſhould not fail to take him from being the Head of a Party of Fanaticks. And that there were ſeveral others, who had traduced him, whom, if he knew, he would make Examples.

And this Informant farther ſaith, That Mrs. *Peacock* ſaid, that Mr. *Fitz-Harris* was gone to *Windſor* to diſcover a new Popiſh Plot, ſo that ſhe was not certain whether ſhe had not beſt ſide with her

Miſtriſs: And ſpeaking to *Mac-Namarra*, he anſwered, that Man and Wife, Miſtriſs and Maid, were beſt to be all of a Mind.

Sworn before Sir George Treby,
Recorder of London, Sept. 1681.

The Information of Captain Henry Wilkinſon.

Imprimis, I the ſaid *Henry Wilkinſon* do declare, and am ready to ſwear, That on *Saturday*, *October* the 8th, 1681. about Five of the Clock in the Evening, one Mr. *Walter Baines* came to Mr. *Adams*'s Seller in the *King's Bemch* Priſon, and ſent for me, out of the Garden in the *King's Bench*; who, upon ſight, told me, he was ſorry to ſee me in that place, and afterwards engaged me to accept of a Pot of Beer or Ale. In the time of its drinking, Mr. *Baines* ſhewed and expreſſed the greateſt Kindneſs that could be expected from a Brother; which made me believe he had ſome Deſign. Then he deſired to know what ſort of Wine I would drink: I told him, not any; beſides, the Cellar had none: But he then called for Brandy, which we had. Then he told me Mr. *Brownrig* was ſent Priſoner to *York*-Caſtle for Treaſon, and for appearing for my Lord *Shaftsbury*. And alſo the ſaid *Baines* ſaid, he had ſent a Note to my Lord *Shaftsbury*, to demand fifty Shillings, for Service and Charges that was due to him, done for the Lord *Shaftsbury* at my Requeſt, as he pretends; and that my Lord ſent him word, it was a Sham and a Cheat put upon him, and therefore he would pay him no ſuch Bill.

At the ſame he told me, I could not but know much of the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Deſigns againſt the King, and that I might do well to diſcover it to him, who was ready to do me any Kindneſs, and deſired an Opportunity. Alſo that he had been lately with Mr. *Graham*, and that he had a great Intereſt with my Lord *Hyde*. (All this time I underſtood what was deſigning for my Kindneſs.) I conſtantly and truly told him, I knew nothing of my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Deſigns againſt His Majeſty: Only this I did know formerly, from Mr. *Baines*, about three Months ago; That he was then of an Opinion that Mr. *Brownrig* could diſcover ſome unlawful Practices againſt the Lord *Shaftsbury*, which, I confeſs, I did wiſh might be diſcovered; for although I have ſerved His Majeſty in *England*, and beyond Sea, (and no other Intereſt)

Intereſt,) and was as inſtrumental in His Majeſty's Reſtoration as any Perſon of my Fortune could be; ſo I am for his Continuance by all lawful Means, and never to ſtudy the Deſtruction of his Friends or Enemies by unjuſt Deſigns. I have cauſe to believe my Lord *Shaftsbury* loves His Majeſty, for he always was pleaſed to ſhew me Reſpect, for that I had ſerved His Majeſty.

Now Night drew on for Mr. *Bains* to be gone; all the time he ſtayed was ſpent with a great deal of Zeal upon me on the ſame Subject. He told me, I ſhould have a Pardon, and need not to fear it: I would not deny his profer. But he farther told me, I ſhould be conſiderably rewarded: Neither did I deny that, but told him, When I was requited for my former Service, I would ſerve his Majeſty in what I could. I ſaw here was a deſign laid; and although I had reaſon to take it unkindly to have any thing fixed upon me, or to make me an Inſtrument beyond my Knowledge yet I was reſolved to humour the Buſineſs. Upon which Mr. *Baines* took his Leave this Night, and told me, at parting, he would in a few Days ſee me again, but left me with ſuch Promiſes as at preſent I cannot expreſs, not much queſtioning my Knowledge.

Item, That on *Tueſday*, *October* the 11th, 1681. I was ſent for to Mr. *Weaver*'s Houſe, near the *King's Bench*, to Mr. *Booth*; who told me, he was glad to ſee me, but ſorry to ſee us both in that Condition; for he was a Priſoner, as I was. He told me, he had removed himſelf laſt Night from one of the *Compters*. I required of him, how he came to be at a Waiter's Houſe? He told me, it was not denied him, although I could not be admitted one Night. I underſtood he was engaged in the Deſign; I conſidered he had been a Man of bad Principles, therefore I was reſolved to ſtand upon my Guard. Preſently he told me, he was to tell me, I had an Opportunity to be a better Man in my Fortune than ever I was before, and that now I had an Opportunity to make my Fortune; and that I might have Five Hundred Pounds *per Annum* ſetled upon me and my Heirs, or Ten Thouſand Pounds in Money, which I pleaſed, if I would diſcover what I knew of my Lord *Shaftsbury*, and his Deſign in changing the Government to a Commonwealth, and witneſs againſt him. I replied, and told him, No Body would believe I ſhould be made privy to ſuch a Deſign, (if ſuch a thing was,) being I had ſerved His Majeſty in *England*, and beyond Sea. He anſwered, I was the likelieſt Man to know; for he knew I had ſerved the King, and had been

ſlighted and neglected. I told him, That was true. I anſwered him again, I never deſired any thing of His Majeſty for my Service, but that which would coſt him nothing; but only to have the Preference of others, that never had been concerned in His Majeſty's Service, by way of Farm on part of His Majeſty's Revenues. He told me, His Majeſty knew me, and that he was ſenſible of my Service and Sufferings, and deſired to gratifie me; for he often told me, Now was the time to do ſomething which would advance me; for it muſt now be a King, or a Commonwealth; for the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Party would but only make uſe of me, to ſlight me when their Buſineſs was done. I told him, I was with my Lord *Shaftsbury* the Night before he was apprehended, and that Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* was there; a Perſon I knew out of Favour, on purpoſe that he might ſpeak out his full Mind; but ſtill told him, I knew nothing of any Deſign. I alſo told him, I would ſay nothing, nor appear at Court, until I was conſidered for my Sufferings, (a thing I never expected;) and as for going to Court, I never intended it: But the more I told him I knew nothing of a Deſign, the more he put me in mind of what Reward I might have, in ſuch Words, that I ought to ſwear to it, whether I knew any thing or nothing of the Buſineſs. Now I fully ſaw the Deſign; and though I ſtayed late, at my Return I began to conſider who I ſhould make this Buſineſs and Deſign known to, being a Stranger in the *King's Bench*. I obſerved one, who appeared to me to be a ſober and ſenſible Perſon; that Night I repaired to him, and (leſt I ſhould be tempted with what Offers were made) I told him, that I had a Deſign to commit a Secret to him; whereupon I told him, and deſired him to put the ſame in Writing; and that if I ever declared more than what I did then to him, (that was,) That I knew nothing of any Plot or Deſign againſt His Majeſty, intended by my Lord *Shaftsbury*: I told him this, and declared in the Preſence of God, that if ever I ſhould be tempted to ſwear more than this at any time, it was for Reward; and that I deſired him to witneſs the Truth of this againſt me, and that I would daily give him an Account of what paſſed for the future, which I deſired him every Day to put into Writing, which I believe he hath done; as alſo the conſtant Invitations abroad, and the Viſits they gave me here; which were ſo frequent to me, as nothing could be more.

Mr.

Mr. *Booth* told me, I muſt appear at Court, and I ſhould have an aſſurance of my Reward from ſome Perſons of Honour: I told him, I would not truſt any Courtier I knew, for a Groat; I am ſatisfied he was put upon this, but by whom God knows, I am aſſured not by his Majeſty.

That on Wedneſday *Octob.* the 12*th*, 1681. I was invited by Mr. *Booth* to dine with him that day at Mr. *Weaver*'s Houſe, which I refuſed, (although he ſent a Waiter, and promiſed him ſatisfaction for his Attendance.) After Dinner he ſent again; I went, and found Mr. *Baines* with him, both riſing from Dinner; I was moſt kindly received with Wine and good Words, working upon me to come in a Witneſs againſt my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s deſigning to change the Government; declaring, I had an opportunity to make my Family and Friends, as they had expreſt formerly. I told them, as I had done before, until I was ſatisfied for by-paſt Services, I would not be concerned any way at Court. They told me, I might be aſſured of what I would deſire from my Lord *Halliſax* and my Lord *Hide*. Mr. *Booth* required what would ſatisfie me; I told him, if they would give me two thouſand Guineys towards the Injury I had received, and my Friends upon my account, I would diſcover what I knew. Mr. *Booth* told me, a greater thing was intended me, for I was five Hundred Pound *per Annum*, or ten Thouſand Pounds in Mony: But I ſtill told them, I knew nothing of any Deſign by my Lord *Shaftsbury*. The more I declared I knew nothing, the more Mr. *Booth* urged the Reward. I told him (when he was ſo earneſt) when I had that Mony and a General Pardon, I would then do any Service I could; but I would not truſt the Promiſes of Courtiers. Mr. *Baines* told me, as to a Pardon, I might have it in two or three days: He deſired to know my Chriſtian Name, which I conceived was an intention to get a Pardon, a thing never in my thoughts; but Mr. *Baines* formerly mentioned it to me; and truly I did not know what I might ſtand in need of, or what they would fix upon me in our diſcourſe.

Mr. *Baines* told me, he had the night before been with my Lord *Halliſax* and my Lord *Hide*; now they thought they had prevailed with me, and were mighty chearful: Before I parted from them, my Wife coming to me, told me; Mr. *Booth* had been mighty urgent with her, to engage me to come in a Witneſs; and then told her, I ſhould have five hundred Pounds *per Annum* ſetled

ſetled upon me; but what grounds he had for this, I know not; for all Perſons that know her, knew her to be a perſon of unqueſtionable Repute. Nor did I queſtion the performance, for I thought, what I could ſay, would not deſerve; neither could I tell, why they ſhould think me ſuch a Man, as they would have me to be; for I ever hated to be a Witneſs or a Jury-man all my time: I conceieve Mr. *Booth* thought I might be wrought upon, becauſe I had great Misfortunes, and that this was a ready way to repair me.

Octob. the 13. 1681. This day I had a Waiter ſent me, about eleven a Clock, to deſire me to go to Mr. *Weaver*'s Houſe, which I did; there was Mr. *Booth* and Mr. *Baines*, who told me, they ſent for me to dine with them: I had no deſire to have any Table-talk with them, I deſired to be excuſed, and alſo promiſed to ſee them after Dinner. Mr. *Baines* told me, Mr. *Graham* was not far off, and would be there, and that he was ſent by ſome of the Council to diſcourſe me: Mr. *Baines* told me, on *Tueſday* night he was at Court with my Lord *Halliſax*, and Lord *Hyde*, and the two Secretaries of State, and that they enquired who knew me: He replyed, Mr. *Graham*, who was ſent for; they askt him as to my Reputation; they askt him if he knew me, and how long; he ſaid, about twenty years: they enquired of him concerning me. He told me Mr. *Graham* anſwered, I had ſerved his Majeſty and his Father in *England* and beyond Sea faithfully, and that I was a very honeſt Man, and alſo that I was a great Sufferer, and that I had received great Diſappointments, and had been ill dealt with by ſome that belonged to the Court, as, in particular, Mr. *Edward Progers*; and that they engaged Mr. *Graham* to come over to the *Kings-Bench*, and to aſſure me, that I ſhould be requited for my Sufferings: Alſo to take me over with him to the King, where I ſhould have the Promiſe of His Majeſty for the ſame, and the opportunity to declare my former Grievances, and receive His Royal Word and Promiſe for my Reward and Sufferings. After this Diſcourſe, Mr. *Graham* came in, who told me the ſame things as above, and that I might be aſſured of thoſe things from the King; alſo that he had an Order to carry me to His Majeſty. I told him, I could ſay nothing, neither would I go to *Whitehall*; for I had taken a Reſolution againſt going to *Whitehall*. It was hard preſſed for my going thither. I deſired

to

to be excuſed; for if I could ſay any thing, I muſt be guilty my ſelf: But he told me, whether I was or not, I might be recompenſed for my Sufferings: Upon which I took my leave, and went away not well pleaſed, that for my Requital I ſhould be thought an ill Man or a Traytor.

That on *October* the 14, 1681. Mr. *Booth* came to me about Eleven a Clock to the *Kings-Bench*; we walked in the Garden about an Hour. His Buſineſs was to know my Mind, whether I would go voluntarily to the King or not. He alſo told me, That Mr. *Wilſon*, my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Secretary, that was in the *Gatehouſe*, had ſent to the Council to inform Them, That if he might have his Pardon, he would come in, and declare his Knowledge; and therefore he would have me to have the Honour to be the Firſt Diſcoverer. I told him, I had no Buſineſs at *Whitehall*. Then he told me, it was intended that Mr. *Graham* ſhould be at his Lodging this Afternoon, to ſee if I would go to the King; if not, my Lord Chief Juſtice's Warrant would be ſent to compel me to appear at his Chamber, where there would be ſome of the Council to examine me and ſwear me. He alſo told me, That the Duke of *York* had a great Eſtate in *Ireland*, and that he would give me Five hundred Pounds *per Ann.* there, beſides all former Promiſes, to be ſetled upon me and my Heirs, if I would come in a Witneſs againſt my Lord *Shaftsbury*. I told him, they might meet with many Perſons in this Age, that would accept of ſuch Offers. I told him, if I had any thing to ſay, it was the moſt proper time in Court, for me and Witneſſes to ſpeak their Knowledg. I told him, I did not know, but the Preſence of a King and his Promiſes, might make a Man ſay more than what was true, or than he could ſay fairly in a Court. Mr. *Booth* ask'd me, if I did not ride with my Sword and Piſtols out of Town with my Lord *Shaftsbury*, when he went to *Oxford*? I told him I did, I could not do leſs than wait upon him out of Town, who had been ſo kind, with the reſt of the Lords Proprietors, to do me the Honour to make me their Governour for the Country of *Carolina*. He then told me, I muſt needs be privy to this, That if His Majeſty would not paſs Three Acts, One, for Excluding the Duke of *York*; the next, for making void the Act of Queen *Elizabeth* againſt Recuſancy; and the third, for Uniting Proteſtant Subjects; then by force of Arms he was to be compelled.

He

He told me, all the Council was ſatisfied I knew this, and as much as any Perſon, in regard that both my Lord *Shaftsbury* and my ſelf was diſguſted at Court. He ſaid, the Council knew I was a Soldier, and was ſatisfied I was to act in that Concern. I begun now to conſider what a Fortune was now promis'd, and what a good Addition this Five Hundred Pounds Additional from the Duke of *York* would make to the former Promiſes; and after he was gone, I acquainted my Wife, and told her how great a Perſon ſhe was like to be: But this was no News to her; for Mr. *Booth* had often been deſiring her, for her own good, to engage me in this Honourable Service. Thus theſe things in our Trouble's ſerved us to be merry with, to conſider how eaſily we were like to leap into an Eſtate: But all this time we were out without fear and danger of enjoying it, or any part of it, much leſs of intailing it upon our Poſterity.

October the Fifteenth, 1681. This day, about Eleven a Clock, Mr. *Booth* came again to me to the *Kings-Bench*, to know of me, if I yet would go to *Whitehall*: I demanded, For what? He told me, To Evidence againſt the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. I told him, I had nothing to ſay againſt him. He importuned me not to loſe this great Opportunity I now had. Before we parted, Mr. *Baines* came to us; I deſired to know why they ſhould be ſo urgent to have me a Witneſs. He told me, there were none but *Iriſh* Witneſſes yet to come againſt my Lord *Shaftsbury*, and they were not Perſons of Credit; but if I would come in, although I had been unfortunate in my Private Concerns, yet I was not blemiſh'd in my Credit. Mr. *Baines* told me, if I would not go to *Whitehall*, the Marſhal had an *Habeas Corpus* from my Lord Chief Juſtice *Pemberton*, to carry me. So we parted.

About Four a Clock in the Afternoon, the Marſhal came with Mr. *Booth* and Mr. *Baines* to require me to go along with him. I demanded, Whither? He told me to *Whitehall*. I demanded to ſee his Warrant. He ſhewed it me. Now I was forced to obey. After my coming thither, in a little time I was called into Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*'s Office, where he and my Lord *Conway* was, who ſtrictly, but very fairly and honeſtly, Examined me about my Lord *Saftsbury*, and what I knew of any Deſign againſt His Majeſty. I told them, as I did to the former Attackers, I knew nothing. Great Arguments were uſed; but I could give no ſatisfactory Anſwer, as was (I conceived) expected.

After

After this, His Majeſty came into the Office; when He ſaw me, He was pleaſed to do me the Honour, to ſay, He knew me well, and that I had ſerved His Father and His Majeſty faithfully, and He hoped I would not decline my Obedience. To which I anſwered, I never deſerved to be ſuſpected. His Majeſty was pleaſed to tell me, He had not had the Opportunity to ſerve His Friends, but hoped He might: He was pleaſed to promiſe to conſider me for my ſufferings. Then his Majeſty began to Examine me, (If I had been exhorted by the beſt Divine in *England*, he could not have ſaid more than His Majeſty) in telling me, what Kindneſs was intended me, was not with a deſign to invite me to ſpeak a Word but Truth it ſelf; and that if He knew I did, or any other Perſon, His Majeſty would never endure them. Then His Majeſty demanded, What I knew of a Deſign againſt His Perſon and Government? I truly told His Majeſty, That I knew nothing of any Plot or Deſign againſt His Majeſty or Government; that I admired why I ſhould be ſuſpected, that had ſerved His Majeſty and His Father in *England* and beyond-Sea, and was as Inſtrumental as any Perſon in His Majeſty's Reſtoration: But ſome Perſons had poſſeſſed His Majeſty, I was deep in ſome Deſign againſt the Government, and knew much of my Lord *Shaftsbury*: So His Majeſty ſeemed not to be ſatisfied, but ſtill preſſed hard upon me. To all His Majeſties Queſtions, I could give no Anſwer that would ſatisfie. Then His Majeſty was pleaſed to tell me, If I would ſay, *As I hope to be ſaved, I knew nothing of any Deſign againſt His Perſon*, He would believe me; which I did ſay, in thoſe very Words, which His Majeſty ſeemed to wonder at. Then I was left to Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, who was pleaſed to uſe ſuch Arguments as he thought fit. I told him, I knew my Duty to His Majeſty, I would not draw a Sword againſt Him; but I could freely do it againſt ſome of the Court, that were Enemies to His Majeſty and His Friends; and ſo I was diſmiſſed out of the Office. Then I was carried into another Room, where His Majeſty, my Lord Chancellor, Lord *Hallifax*, Lord *Hyde*, the two Secretaries of State were, and the Lord Chief Juſtice *Pemberton*; where I was Examined, Mr. *Graham*, Mr. *Booth*, and Mr. *Baines* preſent. My Lord Chancellor was ſharp upon me with ſeveral Queſtions, which I could give no Anſwer to. Content thus I was to run the Gantlet from one place to another. My Lord Chancellor would not

believe, but I muſt be guilty of knowing great things againſt my Lord *Shaftsbury*. I told him, If I could not be believed upon my Word there, if they pleaſed to bring my Lord *Shaftsbury* upon his Trial, I would declare it in open Court upon Oath what my Knowledge was, without any hopes of Gain or Advancement. My Lord Chancellor, I thank him, did me that Equity, to tell me, There were two ſorts of Advancement; I need not give my ſelf that trouble, for I was like to come to my Trial my ſelf before my Lord *Shaftsbury*. My Lord Chancellor demanded of me, If I had no Commiſſion for this New Service againſt His Majeſty. I told him, No. Then he told me, I was to have a Troop to conſiſt of fifty Men. I told him, That was a ſmall Troop: I hoped, that if ever I had a Command of a Troop, it ſhould be a better than that. But I deſired to know who gave that Information. He told me, Mr. *Booth*; who was by, and was liſted under me. I deſired Mr. *Booth* to tell me, if he had given this Information, and made this Oath? He told me, Yes; and it was true. I was unconcerned, and am, knowing my ſelf not guilty: For I proteſt, in the Preſence of Almighty God, by whom I expect to be judged, I never had a Word with Mr. *Booth*, or any other Perſon, in my whole Life, tending to any ſuch thing. For at the ſame time that he ſaid this was to be, which was when the Parliament was to be laſt at *Oxford*, I had taken, on a Ship for *Carolina*, where I was to go Governor, a Buſineſs more to my Content than any Military Employ; eſpecially againſt His Majeſty, and the Government. But I conceived this was in hopes of Reward, and to ſhew his Loyalty; for which, I believe, he will neither be regarded, nor rewarded. I told the Council, if they had ſuch another Witneſs, they might do my Buſineſs. I thank God, I am not afraid of him, nor twenty more ſuch Witneſſes, if they come againſt me; for, 'tis well known, he hath been accuſed and condemned for Clipping and Coining, beſides Murther; for which he had His Majeſty's gracious Pardon, as I have been informed. I am glad I live in ſuch Days, wherein Juries conceive they are Judges as to Matter of Fact; for if they were not, I am ſatisfied, in this Swearing Age, many an honeſt Man would be forced to march before they know either Rank or File. At the ſame time I told my Lord Chancellor, if any honeſt Man would come and witneſs againſt me, I would never deſire His Majeſty's Pardon, or ever will.

Let

Let all the World judge how unlikely it is, that I ſhould be thus concerned, when I had about twenty eight Men-Servants, four or five Women-Servants, beſides my Wife, three Sons, (of which, two had been in His Majeſty's Service at Sea,) and one Daughter, all the Children I have, prepared, and lay at my Charge, intending for *Carolina*, and thought my ſelf happy; and was reſolved to leave *England*, with a Reſolution, to ſee if I could find a People that had leſs Wit, and more Honeſty, than I have found in my own Country; where, I muſt needs ſay, I have found very unfaithful Dealings amongſt ſuch as account themſelves Perſons of Honour and Quality. But truly, when I thought I had made my ſelf almoſt ready for my intended Voyage, I found my ſelf like a Man bewitched, that could neither budge, nor ſtir; until, at laſt, ſome Debts that I was bound for fell upon me, and others of my own increaſed, being burthened with a great Charge, which unexpectedly put a ſtop, at preſent, to my intended Voyage. I did always intend to leave *England* honeſtly and honourably: Thoſe things fell ſo unexpectedly, that my ſelf and Wife concluded there was a Divine Hand in it.

The Information of Jarvis James, *Gent.*

I *Jarvis James*, Gent. do declare, That the above-named Captain *Henry Wilkinſon* came to me upon *Tueſday* the 11th of *October*, 1681. in the Evening; and did then, and likewiſe every Day, from time to time afterwards, make me acquainted with the ſeveral Treaties and Tranſactions between him the ſaid Captain *Henry Wilkinſon* and Mr. *Baines*, Mr. *Booth* and Mr. *Graham*, and the ſeveral other Perſons in this his Information mentioned; and that they were the very ſame in ſubſtance, with what he hath herein ſet forth, and declared; for, at his Requeſt, and for my own Satisfaction, I kept a daily Journal during the time of their Treating. All which ſhall be atteſted upon Oath, when required.

The Information of Mrs. Suſannah Wilkinſon, *Wife of Captain* Henry Wilkinſon.

I The ſaid *Suſannah Wilkinſon* do declare, That on *Wedneſday*, the 12th of *October*, 1681. I went to the *King's-Bench* Priſon, to ſpeak with my Husband; (where I met with three Carpenters, which were entertained by him, as Servants for *Carolina*, and who had waited a long time; and not finding him likely to proceed in his Voyage, they deſired to be diſcharged;) but not finding him in the *King's Bench*, I went with them to Mr. *Weaver's* Houſe; where I found him in Company with Mr. *Booth*, and one Mr. *Baines*, (who were very largely treating my Huſband with Wine.) My Husband went out to perſuade the Servants, and diſcourſed them: Then Mr. *Booth* took an Opportunity to ſpeak to me, and told me, my Husband was a moſt obſtinate Man, and Mr. *Booth* deſired me to perſuade my Husband to be guided and perſuaded by him the ſaid Mr. *Booth*. And he ſaid, the King would do more for my Husband, than ever the Lord *Shaftsbury* would; and that the King was ſenſible of my Husband's Service, and Sufferings; and if my Husband would be perſuaded by him, the ſaid Mr. *Booth*, to appear againſt the Lord *Shaftsbury*, he was ſure my Husband would be the moſt happy Man in the World, and that he ſhould have 500 *l.* a Year ſetled upon him and his Heirs for ever.

That on *Friday*, *October* the 14th, 1681. I was with my Huſband, at the *King's Bench* Priſon, when Mr. *Booth* came into our Room. Mr. *Booth* took an Opportunity to ſpeak with me, and deſired me, for God's ſake, to perſuade my Husband to be ruled by him; which if my Husband would, he might be an happy Man, and the Duke of *York* would ſettle 500 *l.* a Year in *Ireland* upon my Husband and his Heirs; and very much intreated me to perſuade my Husband to what he deſired. All which ſhall be atteſted upon Oath, when required.

FINIS.

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